

AUGUST, 1910

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The INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

*The Fighting Magazine
of the Working Class*



WITH THE COPPER MINERS OF MICHIGAN

By WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD

THE SLAVES OF THE STEEL TRUST

By LESLIE H. MARCY

THE PENNSYLVANIA COAL MINERS' STRIKE

By THOMAS F. KENNEDY

THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST REVIEW

OF, BY AND FOR THE WORKING CLASS

EDITED BY CHARLES H. KERR

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CONTENTS

With the Copper Miners of Michigan.....	William D. Haywood
The People Who Make and the People Who Take.....	Ed Moore
From Shore to Shore.....	Edlington Moat
Slaves of Steel.....	Leslie H. Marcy
Government Oppression in Japan.....	S. Katayama
Penitentiary Secrets.....	Alexander Johns
Mark Twain: Radical.....	Emanuel Julius
Socialism the Issue.....	Tom J. Lewis
Industrial Unionism.....	Eugene V. Debs
Beer Brewing and the Brewery Workers in the U. S.....	Herman Schluter
Organized Effort.....	H. O. Hedden
The Irwin Coal Strike.....	Thomas F. Kennedy
The Impulse Toward Revolution.....	C. W. Garrett
Will Roosevelt Save the Country.....	Western Clarion
The Oregon-California Encampment.....	Kittie S. Hulse
Example Book Talks.....	Arthur M. Lewis
The Effect of Economic Development on the Home.....	Lulu Sours

DEPARTMENTS.

Editorials: The Work of the Working Class; We Need No Leaders;
The Main Issue.

International Notes : World of Labor Publishers' Department

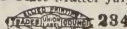
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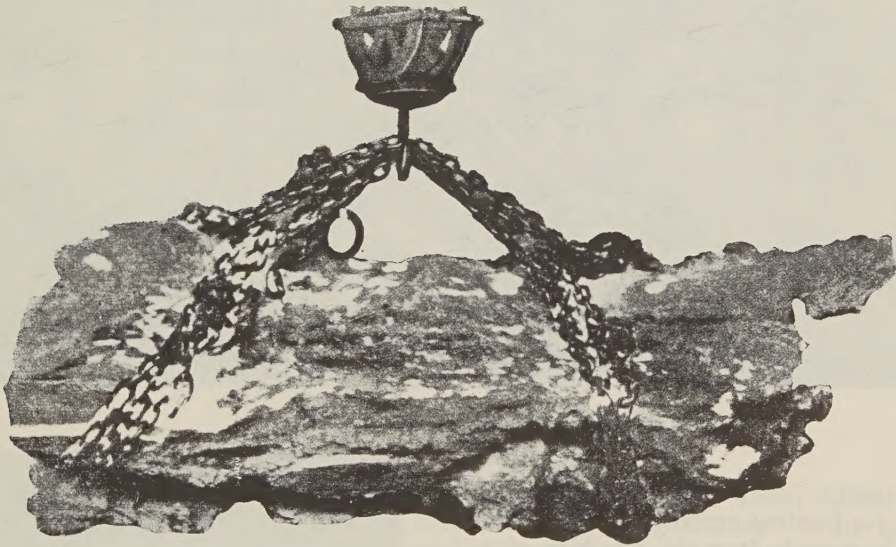


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No. 2



Mass Copper Taken From Michigan Mine. Weight 8 Tons.

With the Copper Miners of Michigan

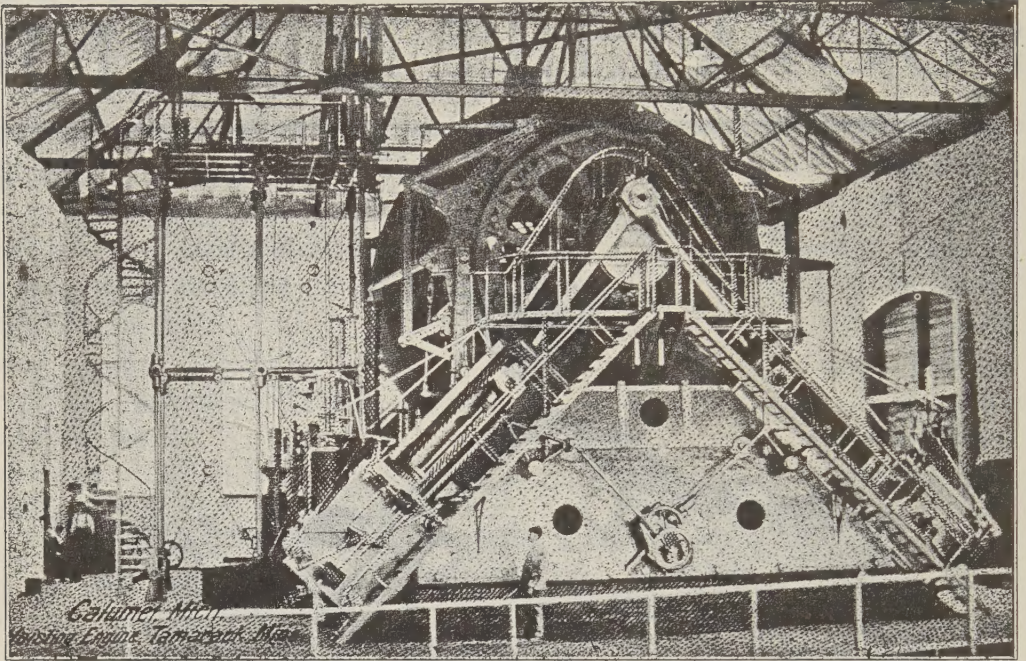
By

WILLIAM D. HAYWOOD.



COPPER was discovered in the upper Peninsula of Michigan in 1843 by Jim Paull and Nick Minicleer, two frontiersmen, who facing many dangers made their way in the depth of winter through the wilderness from the southern part of Wisconsin and arrived at a place now located on the map as Houghton and Keewanaw counties.

Here they discovered excavations which geologists and scientists have since determined were made by a pre-historic people who had come and gone before the American Indians inhabited this continent. The tools with which the mound builders worked the copper mines were perhaps little less crude than those of the Wisconsin prospectors who had nothing in the world except what they had carried on their backs. It is probable that in sinking the first shaft on

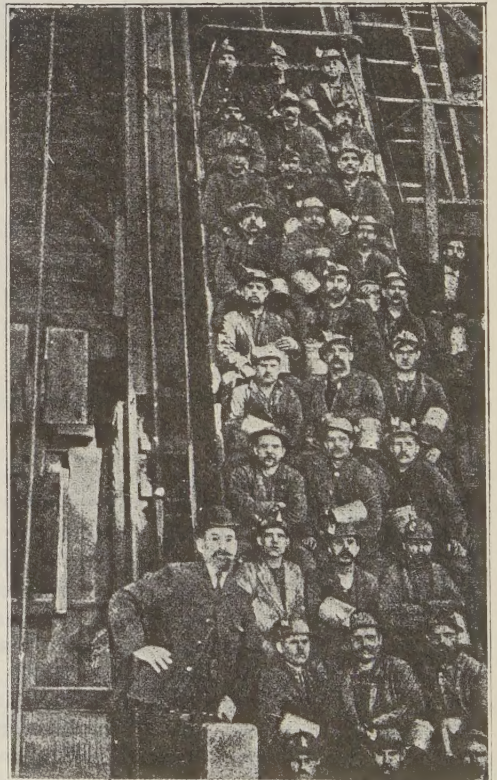


Hoisting Engine—Tamarack Mine.

their location, they contrived a windlass or whim for hoisting purposes. The rope may have been made from the raw hide of wild animals and their ore buckets of the skins. And they climbed down and back from their work on flimsy ladders made of saplings.

Today not far from the site of the first claims located in the copper country are the deepest shafts in the world. Number "three" shaft of the Calumet and Hecla mine is an incline 8,290 feet deep. The Tamarack mine shaft Number "four" is a vertical hole in the earth's crust, 5,100 feet as the plumb line falls.

Here has been installed the most powerful machinery used in mining. The Tamarack hoisting engine is a marvel of mechanical ingenuity. There are two duplicate sixty-five hundred horse power Nordberg hoists, each with four thirty-six inch high pressure cylinders, having a seventy-two inch stroke. The drums twenty-four feet in diameter taper to sixteen feet and carry sixty-five hundred feet, of one and one half inch steel cable. The double decked cage and load of rock hoisted by these engines weighs twelve tons. For three quarters of a century an army of men have



Going Underground.



Copper Miners.

been employed under ground until this section of Michigan is honeycombed with the workings of the miners who are robbing the treasure vaults of Nature of the metal which is so indispensable to the progress of civilization.

Here are vast deposits and veins of copper which occur in conglomerate and amygdaloids. These valuable resources of the earth have come into the possession of a few individuals who have grown marvelously rich at the expense of the under ground toilers. Here is located the Calumet and Hecla property which has been the greatest dividend payer in all the mining world. Organized in 1871 since that time it has paid \$107,000,000 in dividends. In 1907 every man of the several thousand employed returned to the company more than \$2000 over and above the wages received, all running expenses, improvements and development work. Of the latter it is said that six years ore supply has been blocked out, ready for extraction.

In the copper mines the contract or task system which by factory workers would be called piece work, is in vogue. The miners break the rock by the ton or fathom. Ma-

chine drills are used almost exclusively and for prospecting diamond drills are used. The wages of the miners seldom exceed \$65.00 per month and there are instances on record of men who have worked a month and were *in debt to the company* for tool and other supplies, not including board. They have Saturday afternoon and Sunday off. In the mills and some parts of the mine, however, men are compelled to work an eleven hour day and thirteen hour night shift and these unseemly hours also apply to hoisting engineers upon whose vigilance the lives of the men daily depend as the engineers lower and hoist them out of the depths.

The Calumet and Hecla company has adopted a system of paternalism towards its employees, which holds the workers in a state of feudalism, very peculiar under a capitalist regime. This company owns 117 square miles or 74,841 acres of mineral lands. Upon this company land, temporarily leased, the workers have built hundreds of homes which they must vacate at short notice when they leave the company's employ. The company owns twelve hundred dwelling houses and in these the

workers must live and for this privilege the company must receive six per cent interest on their investment and in addition, the cost of maintaining the houses. There are eight company schoolhouses where the children are taught by company teachers—a company manual training school—a company high school—there are thirty churches of different denominations all of which the company has aided to erect and helps to maintain—there are newspapers owned by the company—there is a company hotel—a company club house—a company library of approximately 30,000 volumes, books chosen by the company, newspapers in twenty different languages and these are not sufficient for the requirements of the men, as there are thirty different nationalities represented on the pay roll. There are company stores where the men are ex-

pected to trade—a company hospital where mangled men get well or die under the attendance of company doctors—on company grounds is built an armory of the state where sons of company men are drilled in the art of murder and taught to shoot that they may protect the company's property rights.

The dominating influence of the company in all the walks of life has bred servility on the part of the miners and creates an atmosphere entirely unlike any western mining camp. The spirit of the slave is not confined to any particular nationality, but here seems to be more pronounced in the Cornishman and Italian—the Finnish miner being decidedly more progressive. Miserable are the conditions in the copper mines but the wage slaves are awakening and organizing.



William D. Haywood.

The People who Make

AND

The People who Take

By

ED. MOORE



WEALTH, as everyone can see, is made by the labor of the working people.

No one goes to a court room to buy shoes, for even the most ignorant know that judges, lawyers, court clerks, criers and tip-staves do not work making shoes in the courts.

Farmers, while they "respectfully petition" Congress and Legislature for laws to curb the greed of corporations, never go to these places to buy farm machinery or fertilizers.

Working people, whether organized or not, never go to army posts or naval stations to purchase household furniture and groceries.

But the judges and court officials, congressmen and legislators, soldiers and sailors wear shoes, eat what the farmers grow, and use household furniture and groceries.

You do not have to be a giant thinker to see, that if people use things that they did not make, they had to get them from those who did make them. And as congressmen and legislators, judges and lawyers, soldiers and sailors do not make wealth they must give what was made by others for what they get.

Only ignorant or foolish people will give wealth that they produce by labor to non-producers, and those who divide up with government officials are neither ignorant or foolish. But they do not produce wealth. They hire, for wages, work-

ing people to produce it. And they use Congress, Legislatures, judges, lawyers, soldiers and sailors to force working people to make wealth for wages.

Congress and the Legislatures make the regulations which give the ownership of the wealth made by poor people hired for wages, to the rich people, and out of this wealth they pay taxes. Out of the taxes Congress, Legislatures, courts, army, navy, and the state militia are supported.

Sometimes the working people get dissatisfied with the little bit of wealth, they get for producing it, and they refuse to work. Then the class character of the government shows itself. Police drive the strikers away from the neighborhood of the boss's shop. Judges issue injunctions forbidding the strikers to tell what made them strike, and the state militia charge open air meetings and chase away those assembled there with the points of their bayonets.

For keeping the working people afraid, and to make them agree to work for wages, the rich people pay high salaries and bribe the big government officers. They have no more respect for the common soldiers and sailors than they have for the people they hire for wages, for they know the army and navy is recruited from the down-and-outs.

It would be a bad thing for those who take wealth if the makers of it knew they were being robbed. This knowledge would make the common soldiers and sailors unreliable and if they were unwilling to murder wealth-makers who ob-

jected to being robbed by law, the power to oppress and enslave, now held by the rich, would end.

It pays the rich to give some of the wealth they take from those who make for wages, to buy teachers and public speakers, magazine and newspaper writers to tell working people that they cannot get along unless they keep a lot of idle wealthy people.

The most valuable hirelings of the rich are those who have the confidence of the organized workers, and, trading on this confidence, persuade them that it would be wrong for them to own the fruits of their own labor; that it is far better for them to pay business agents to arrange with the rich not to take too much of the wealth from the poor who produce it.

Producers of wealth are the only kind of people that we must have. It is their labor that provides for the rich and the poor, the educated and the ignorant. And as long as the producers must work to give others time to get an education, they will only get a limited chance to get an education for themselves.

Political power is what puts the forces of government in the hands of the wealth-takers. It gives them ownership of wealth they did not make, and which, by legal

means, they take from those who do make it.

They took this wealth before there was any labor legislation because they bought for wages the labor power of the workers. They take more wealth now—from those they hire for wages in the states where they have the best "labor laws." If you doubt this, compare Pennsylvania with South Carolina.

It is unwise for wealth-producers, whose limbs and lives are in constant danger while at work, to trust the movement to take the political power to those, who, whether they know it or not, are influenced by their association with wealth-takers, and are more concerned not to shock them than to put an end to the robbery of the makers of wealth. Reforms will give the lawyers work, but they will not take the titles away from those who pay wages to get profits out of the labor of the workers.

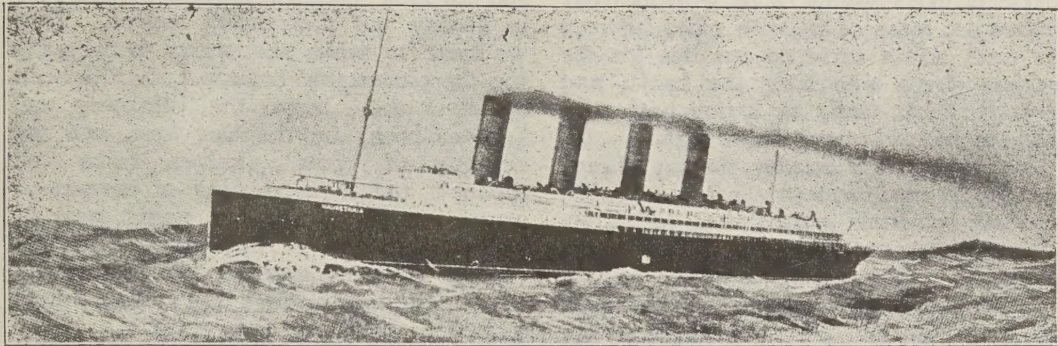
Wealth is made by labor. Ownership is made by law.

Wealth-producers must, therefore, take the law-making machinery—the government—into their own hands to vest the ownership of the wealth they make in themselves. Until they do this the government, now run by non-producers for non-producers, will use all its powers to make them keep the non-producers.

When in the course of development, class distinctions have disappeared, and all production has been concentrated in the hands of a vast association of the whole nation, the public power will lose its political character.

Political power, properly so-called, is merely the organized power of one class for oppressing another.

Communist Manifesto.



From Shore to Shore

BY

EDLINGTON MOAT



IF THAT'S all you want, I guess we can fix you up," said the secretary of a certain sailors' union in South street, New York, to whom I applied on a sunny May morning for a hint as to how I might best

work my passage to England. "But I should think," he added, running his hands through his iron-gray hair and regarding me quizzically the while, "that you see enough Poorland, as you call it, right here, without going to the other side. When you cross 'the pond' you go from purgatory to hell so far as work is concerned."

"Just what I want," I replied. "I've had enough purgatory for a time. I'd like to do a little adventuring in another sphere."

Accordingly, I got from him a letter to a saloon keeper on the water-front who ministers to thirsty wharf-rats and stokers—for a price; and this saloon keeper gave me a note to some other person of influence in the maritime world. The other person could do nothing for me—not just then. I waited three weeks, if trotting your legs off

may be called waiting; and at length, just as I was thinking of trying for a cattleship from another port, I received "the word," smuggled myself and my baggage aboard "one of the fastest and most luxurious liners afloat," and the same evening, togged out in white jacket and apron, saw the blood red sun slide into the sea where New York had been but a few hours before.

That white jacket, by the way, is the work of the steward. It shows me to be a member of that unhallowed calling—a slave in the steerage by day and an inmate of the "glory hole" by night. The glory hole? Aye, the glory hole, so our sleeping place is termed, probably for the very reason that we wear white jackets. Yet despite the name, we know it for a vile den, containing scarcely 400 feet of floor space, into which are crowded 34 bunks, each about two feet wide, ranged side by side with not three inches space between them, and so little space between the upper and lower, that one cannot sit upright. The light is dim at all times, and the sickening smell so characteristic of most forecastles is always with us.

But we seldom stop to inquire. We are too pressed for time, or too indifferent. When the day's stress and strain are ended,

we are glad to slide between the dirty, coarse blankets—some of us with half our clothes on, some of us with pipes between our teeth and a curse on our lips for the reckless devils who bang the banjo, and keep the thick, stuffy air a-ring with song until the midnight hour draws nigh.

And tomorrow is Sunday, the day of rest. Ha! day of rest, forsooth! Let us see. We lie abed, or abunk, rather, until just 4:30, when we are startled into wide-eyed wakefulness by what seems like a terrific dinning on a dishpan, mingled with a babel of oaths and gruntings, and the swish-swash of the waves without, and the "Come on, come on; goin' to sleep all day?" of the glory hole steward, whose authority at this unearthly hour is absolute. We have had less than six hours sleep, which the foul air has rendered far from refreshing. For all that, shirt and trousers are jerked on pell-mell, and then, unwashed and unbreakfasted, we rush to our respective ports, be it storage or cabin, and scrub the decks as if our very lives depended upon it. Woe to the man who dares to turn over for another snooze! He shall be hauled before the supervising steward, there to give an account of himself, and to be threatened with discharge if the thing happens again—a serious matter; indeed. For should the threat be carried out, as such threats have, time without number, the fact is recorded in the "discharge book" of the Shipping Federation—a combination of ship owners of international scope designed to crush all movements among seamen for the betterment of their condition. Let but two or three of these "bad discharges" be inscribed in his book, and it matters not whether the offender seek a berth in London, Valparaiso or Hong Kong, he is a doomed man, and all the commerce of the seven seas no longer offers the possibility of a livelihood.

For this reason, in part, do we scrub with a vigor more apparent than real. The job would be uninviting under the best possible circumstances, but on an empty stomach, with the ship rolling and the smell of bilgewater ever present, to say nothing of the filthiness of some of the steerage passengers, a certain percentage of whom—confound them!—are eternally seasick, it is always with a sense of relief that the last patch is "swabbed" over and we are called to mess.

Fifteen minutes is the time allowed to bolt our food; plentiful enough, though poor in quality and abominably cooked. Then we must lay tables and scurry to the gally for the passengers' breakfast, on the heels of which there comes the "strapping up" (dishwashing) by the cart load, and the cleaning of "gear" (knives, forks and spoons), and the scrubbing of companion ways—enough to keep us going until 11 o'clock, the hour of inspection. When the captain "pokes his nose," as one of our crew puts it, "into every nook and cranny, intent on finding fault with something."

The crisis over, we begin preparing for dinner, and by the time this is cleared away, the clock-hands have swung round to 2.30, and we may sit down to our own dinners. A rest of an hour, and we turn to again; and when finally supper is finished, and the last rosy (garbage can) is emptied—when the decks are reswept and the tables washed for the next day's breakfast—then, and then only, may we go to the glory hole.

Were this all, we might not have much cause for complaint, for we are used to seeing the ship undermanned; it is a chronic state of affairs. But in addition, each of us gets a "stand-by," a watch, or a "peggy," as the case may be. The standby is in reality an afternoon watch, with the work of laying tables added; while the watch proper consists in being dragged out of your bunk at any hour of the night to stand guard for two hours. The peggy is the washing up of the mess of stewards, waiters and pantry-men. This work goes by turns. The man who finds himself with the standby today, will surely be held up for the peggy or the watch tomorrow; which takes up any leisure we might have between whiles, and keeps us on the go from 4:30 A. M. until 9 or 10 P. M., seven days a week.

Another point to be considered; we are not even given a chance to work uninterruptedly. We have all sorts of odd jobs to do. A fireman, perhaps, has been brought up from the stokers' pit suffering from convulsions caused by the heat. Hospital duty for somebody, and more toil for the rest! And with the thought comes a glimpse of the blaze and the grime and the sweat, and for a moment we seem to feel the hellish heat and thank whatever gods there be that the stoke hole is not for us. Or perhaps that old woman with the placid face and

good-natured mien is puddling around again with the cocoa can; she wants a spoon and milk and hot water; and the little tow-headed girl would like a pinch of tea—"for mamma, if you please;" while "number 20," the big, gaunt fellow with the hacking cough, who is being deported by the immigration authorities, begs for another blanket and incidentally inquires when we shall be "across the banks."

Do we ignore them, or act surlily? By no means. We are polite, not to say deferential, even though we may have a strong dislike for the person we are serving. For here, in truth, is our only chance to make a few extra dimes. Moreover, it is good practice; someday the faithful among us hope to become saloon stewards. There the work is even more trying. But the tip—aye, the tip's the thing! And the first-cabin steward who cannot worry a couple of "quid" (\$10) out of a table of financial heavyweights in a six days run—well, we deem him "slow indeed."

For these strenuous efforts during the voyage, we good slaves are rewarded by being let off with only nine or ten hours work each day while the vessel lies in port. There is always "drill" a plenty; blankets and dishes to be stored away, gear to be burnished and bundled, and the bunks to be scoured out and disinfected.

And the wages? Oh, yes, I had almost forgotten. The company actually condescends to pay us "two pound ten" (about \$12) at the end of each month, minus any fine we may have incurred by overstepping certain rules. Three pounds (\$15) is the pay of such as happen to work in the saloon, out of which—in the case of the waiters—must come the money for blue suits garished with brass buttons, not to mention white shirts and fronts galore.

The remainder of our money, of course, goes to our wives and children for their support; that is, it *would* if we had any. But we have none—a fortunate thing for us and a bad thing for the state. We are too wise—on this head at least. And many of us are too young. As for the older ones, those who can no longer keep up the pace on five or six hours sleep nightly, you will find numbers of them hobbling about as dishwashers or waiters in obscure English or Colonial hotels, and the remainder you will find stranded about the docks and sea-

men's "homes" of seaport towns the world over, their highest concern focussed on a clay pipe and the wherewithal for a satisfying glass of ale.

Are we doing anything to remedy our conditions? We are, both individually and collectively. Our attempts as individuals have proved failures for the most part. We change from ship to ship and from line to line, but this affords little relief. Our very fitness for sea life seems to unfit us for other lines of endeavor; and it is only at intervals that a man more adaptative than the rest leaves the sea, never to return. Then, too, in spite of the emptiness of the life as regards material reward, in spite of the never-ending routine, we get what adventurous souls in the field and factory vainly crave—a constant change of scene. The sea's moods reflect our own, and though we have not freedom, nor immediate cause for expectation, its roving winds, its great, pulsing tides, and the glamor of its boundless reaches lend us the delusion of both. And some few of us, maybe, are stricken with a foolish pride; for do we not form a part of this wonderful and mysterious monster of wood and iron that night and day, in fog and storm and calm, goes skimming through the endless leagues of ocean? Are we not imbued with its wealth and power and speed? Surely the mouldy crust and the cheerless hovel are far removed from us, and we would fain forget the past and ignore the future.

The majority of us realize, however, that only through organization can we hope for relief. Within a score of years—and I speak now not of stewards merely, but of seamen in general—our constant agitation has resulted in a better dietary, more regular payment of wages, decrease of crimping, and the abolishment of corporal punishment and imprisonment for desertion; a trend of affairs so little to the liking of ship owners that they formed what is today known as the Shipping Federation.

They began their operations by establishing their own employment bureaus in every port in Great Britain. They set spotters on the trail of union men and these were ousted wherever feasible. New hands were forced to carry certificates declaring themselves to be non-union men. They set a medical test, and in some cases went so far as to stamp on the mens' bodies the fact that they

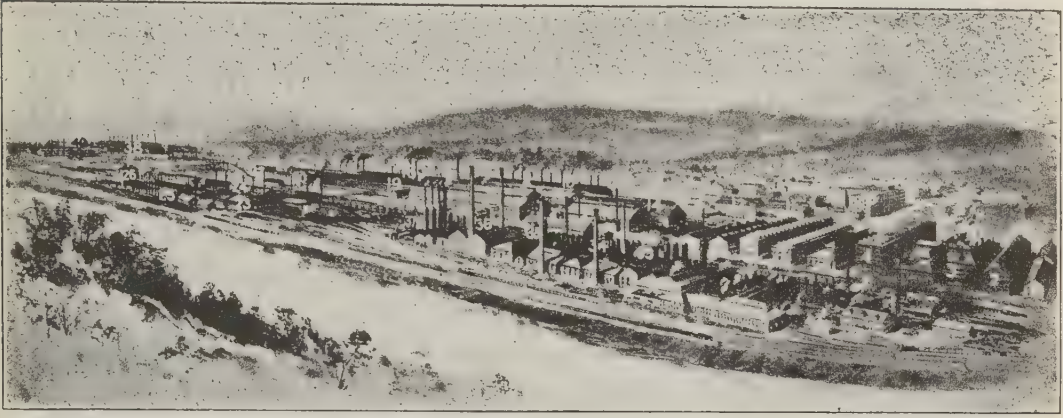
had passed the examination. They lent all the weight of their influence in striving to keep intact certain antiquated laws and treaties under which the nations agreed to arrest and return, like common felons, such seamen as broke a civil contract to labor for a specified time. Wages they forced down to a bare subsistence level—not of Americans and Englishmen, but of Chinese and Lascars, of whom they shipped tens of thousands. They instituted the discharge book, in which is entered the seaman's name, the name of his ship, the time of his engagement and a record of his character as interpreted by the captain. In addition they now intend to impose the Bertillon system of registration, which includes the taking of finger prints—evidence not to be doubted that they consider us criminals. And so fond of this system have they become that they now propose to apply it to longshoremen far and wide.

But the Shippers Federation is not going to have final victory. Soon or late we shall

smash their little system. The International Seafarers' Movement has taken tremendous strides in the past few months. During July vast demonstrations were held in every port in Great Britain in connection with this movement. At the more important of these ports, camps have been erected, in case of trouble, for the accommodation of 50,000 seafaring men. A set of proposals seeking the removal or modification of grievances under which seamen suffer has just been submitted (July 16) to the Shipping Federation for consideration. The replies, if any, will be considered at the International Conference of Seamen's Unions to be held during the latter part of the present month (August) at Copenhagen. In the event of the shipowners ignoring or rejecting the demands, an order will be sent out for the general stoppage of work in ports of the United Kingdom, and it is not at all unlikely that ports in other parts of Europe, as well as in Australia and America, will be similarly affected.

National differences, and antagonisms between peoples, are daily more and more vanishing, owing to the development of the bourgeoisie, to freedom of commerce, to the world-market, to uniformity in the mode of production and in the conditions of life corresponding thereto.

The supremacy of the proletariat will cause them to vanish still faster. United action, of the leading civilized countries at least, is one of the first conditions for the emancipation of the proletariat.



Bethlehem Steel Company's Slave Plant.

Slaves of Steel

BY

LESLIE H. MARCY



ENATE document No. 521 or the "Report on Strike at Bethlehem Steel Works," published by the United States Bureau of Labor, is a valuable addition to our class struggle

literature and should be used by every socialist doing propaganda work.

The truth leaked out in the government's investigation. Their own figures show that the Steel Trust made its surplus-value by working a few thousand "free American citizens" 84 hours in a seven-day week. It also reveals how the powers of government, the cossacks, cartridges and courts were used to crush the slaves who went on strike.

Librarians in "our" public and steel-philanthropic libraries will gravely inform you that the "document is not obtainable and will prove it by displaying the recent lists of government publications with the above words printed after No. 521.

However, an "unknown party" sent this Report to the International Socialist Review "to be used for the benefit of the working class." Since all the evidence tends to prove that the same methods prevail in all steel mills, we will illustrate the Government Report with photographs showing how the wage slaves live in Gary, the new steel capital of the West.

Of the 9,184 wage-earners on the January pay-roll, at Bethlehem, 2,322 worked twelve hours a day or night for seven days of the week, and 2,233 worked twelve hours a day for six days in the week. Thus 4,725, or 51 percent, were employed in occupations regularly requiring twelve hours, OR MORE, per day on their regular working day. A further analysis shows that 2,628 or 29 percent, worked REGULARLY seven days a week. "If the comparison be confined to those departments where Sunday work was done, 57.9 percent of all the men did Sunday work." Sunday work is



Welcome to All—Interior Slave Pen—Gary.

There are about 100 places in Gary where the workers are herded together in the same manner. With wages so low that men cannot provide for decent living conditions, these workers, mostly Servians, Croatians, Macedonians and Hungarian Slovacks, pay one dollar each per week for the right to sleep in quarters where the steel magnates would not even allow their dogs to be quartered.



Boarding Shack—Over 50 Slaves "live" Here.—Gary.



"Home Sweet Home."—In Gary.

The father, an American, works 12 hours a day, seven days a week. Every second week, in the change of shifts, the work continues from 24 to even 36 hours without interruption. Wages of the father of the family before the last raise of six per cent, were $15\frac{1}{2}$ cents an hour. Now it's $16\frac{1}{2}$ cents. Four-fifths of all workers receive that pay. During the McKees Rocks strike and the exposures of the cruel conditions in the steel mills of America, the supply of available working forces fell short and wages had to be advanced to 22 to 25 cents an hour. But they were cut again as soon as the subsidized press of Europe made it appear that the settlement of the McKees Rocks strike affected all steel mills, including Gary.



Moving the Shacks—A Steel-worker's Palace Car.

for them the (golden) rule and is not considered overtime.

"The rates paid for overtime work and Sunday work, alike, did not differ from the ordinary hourly rates."

Before passing on to the pay envelope, it is interesting to note that the protests against Sunday and excessive overtime work, which caused the strike, came from the 3,893 slaves who were enjoying the shortest work day, that is, ten hours and twenty-five minutes a day from Monday to Friday; and five hours and twenty minutes on Saturday. These men knew that their normal working speed rate had been keyed up for a number of years by the application of a time bonus premium wage system, and that the pressure of fat government contracts would soon force on them the American EIGHTY-FOUR HOUR WEEK.

Three methods of payment had been devised by the steel magnates. First: "straight time"; a fixed rate per hour or per day. Second: "straight piece rates"; a fixed rate per piece, per 100 pieces or per ton. "Under this system, he (the worker) is stimulated to *speed up* in order to increase his..... earnings." Third: "time-bonus" system. Under this system, if the wage-slave finishes a standard piece of work within the fixed time limit, "he receives not only the 20% increase on his hourly rate for the number of hours worked, but in addition 50% of his hourly rate for the number of hours saved on the job."

"The time-bonus system.... STIMULATES SPEEDING UP even more than the ordinary piece-rate system of payment."

To quote further: "The January pay-roll shows that LARGE NUMBERS of laborers were working for 12½ cents an hour, twelve hours a day, seven days in the week; 2,640 or 28.7 percent were working for 12 and under 14 cents an hour; 1,528, or 16.6 percent, for 14 and under 16 cents an hour. 48.5 percent of all employees were getting less than 16 cents an hour; 31.9 percent less than 14 cents, and 61.2 percent less than 18 cents an hour."

A philosophical paragraph in the Report announces that— "With the newer blast furnaces, equipped with automatic bottom fillers and mechanical top fillers, the amount of human labor power employed.... is

growing less every year," while a recent writer on the Gary Steel Plant says:

"Speed and the elimination of human labor have been carried beyond anything steel makers have known. Remote-control electric devices, automatic and interlocking, allow seven men to handle the forty or more operations in the rail mill at top speed, yet without danger or accident.(?) The two ingot 'buggies' bring the flaming four-ton cubes from the soaking pits to the first set of rolls. The thirteen pits cover 700 feet, yet one man out of sight in a gallery, can, by setting levers at the proper notches, send a 'buggy' to the chosen pit, stop it, start it when loaded and bring it to the first rolls without turning his attention from the important blooming operation."*

As Marx observed some forty years ago, "Capital now sets the laborer to work, not with a manual tool, but with a machine which itself handles the tools."

President Schwab wrote: "It must be understood that under no circumstances will we deal with men on a strike or a body of men representing organized labor."

Said W. B. Dickson, 1st Vice-President of the U. S. Steel Co.: "Mr. Schwab has very properly protested against the Government officials singling out his company for criticism, as the practices at Bethlehem which are criticised, are *common to all blast furnace plants*. Mr. Schwab himself said, similar hours of work prevail in the entire steel industry.

Defective Work Furnished the Government.

Under date of April 7, 1910, a committee appointed by the Bethlehem strikers submitted a statement to the Government from which we quote as follows:

"That the Bethlehem Steel Company enjoys the benefits of a high protective tariff and is the recipient of valuable government contracts amounting to millions of dollars annually, from which it obtains enormous profits. In spite of these advantages, it exacts a maximum of toil for a wholly inadequate minimum wage and constantly strives to lower the standard of living to the barest point of existence.

* If I had known about Gary, By Will H Moore.

"We charge that during the night work and overtime, defective work is surreptitiously and artificially treated, patched, and welded, thereby escaping the vigilance of the inspectors who are not required to work overtime by the Government."

That this practice of turning out defective murdering machines is an old one, is amply proven by Gustavus Myers in Vol. III of his *Great American Fortunes*, page 254 (footnote) from which we quote as follows:

"A Congressional Committee reported (see House Report No. 1468, Fifty-third Congress):

The company was hired to make the best possible armor plate, and was paid an enormous price. Resting under these obligations the company (Carnegie Steel Co.) or its servants perpetrated manifold frauds, the natural tendency of which was to palm off upon the Government an inferior armor whose inferiority might perchance appear only in the shock of battle.

The efforts of the company, and its superintendents Cline, Corey and Schwab, have been to satisfy your committee that the armor is up to the requirements of the contract, notwithstanding the false reports to inspectors, doctoring of specimens, plugging of plates. The unblushing character of the frauds to which these men have been parties and the disregard for truth and honesty which they have shown in testifying before your committee render them unworthy of credence."

Cossacks and Law and Order.

That the Cossacks of Pennsylvania still

indulge in the same brutalities as in the old days of Homestead, was amply borne out by the report of Mr. Hugh Kelly, ex-chief of police. Among other things Mr. Kelly said:

"On their way down to the steel company's office, they assaulted a number of other people standing on the corners of the streets. In one instance, one of the local police officers, who witnessed this assault, protested against it, but he had no weight whatever; and between Third and Linden streets, going to the office, they beat people standing peaceably on the street. Men were arrested, taken to the plant of the steel company, and there confined. They gave them a hearing on Monday.

"They start out on our streets, beat down our people without any reason whatever and they shot down an innocent man—Joseph Szambo—who was not on the street but who was in the Majestic Hotel, when one of the troopers rode up on the pavement at the hotel door and fired two shots into the bar-room, shooting one man through the mouth, another (Szambo) through the head, who died that afternoon in the hospital."

So much for the boasted "law and order" in the U. S. when anything interferes with the material interests of the ruling class. Every socialist agitator ought to write to the Department of Commerce and Labor and ask for a copy of Document No. 521. We have only been able to touch upon a few of the barbarities revealed in it here. It is not often we are able to use government documents in our campaign against wage slavery.



The Slave Mills at Gary.

Government Oppression in Japan

By

S. KATAYAMA



ON May 26th five socialists were arrested in a small province about 80 miles north of Tokyo in a milling factory. These socialists are Tadao Niimura, Taki-chi Myashita, Zenbei Niimura, U. Nitta and Ry-kigo Furukawa. They are very intelligent iron workers who became socialists.

The news concerning them is being suppressed by the authorities so that it is impossible to ascertain the real cause of their arrest. A few independent daily papers report that they are accused with secretly manufacturing bombshells for unknown purposes.

On June first Denjiro Kotoku and his wife were arrested. The former at Yugawara, the hot spring near Holsone, and the latter at her home in the country. It is claimed that they are friends of the alleged bombshell makers. All seven are undergoing a severe investigation. We are unable to learn anything definite concerning them.

On May third the homes of Dr. Senosuke Oishi and his cousin were ransacked and searched by the authorities.

Dr. Oishi is a friend of Dr. Kato who attended the Stuttgart Congress three years ago. Dr. Oishi is a physician well versed in the European socialist movement. His influence has reached many men and women and won them to the cause of socialism. Pastor, of the church, is also a socialist and publishes a literary magazine of very advanced thought. The magazine is published far from the city but the socialists

located there have made the place noted for the cause.

Oishi has put his earnings liberally at the disposal of the movement and many comrades are being aided by him. His home was searched because he was known to be a friend of Kotoku and it was surmised that he might know something about the alleged "conspiracy."

Wild rumors are constantly springing up but so oppressive is the government that little can be known for certain. The newspapers are severely censored and the police and detectives infest the editorial rooms everywhere. As a result, all socialists are walking on the edge of a chasm. They are liable to arrest at any moment upon the merest suspicion.

The authorities assume a calm manner but they are shaken to the roots of their beings for fear their power is to be jeopardized.

There are about 600 "Direct Actionists" in Japan, none of them having a fixed place of abode. Altogether it looks as though the authorities were sowing the wind—to reap the whirlwind.

I shall give a few sketches on the personalities of some arrested socialists, charged with most extraordinary offences, but first a few words upon the latest developments in our Japanese movement.

During the Russo-Japan War, the socialists fought valiantly against war and made very effective propaganda among the people—particularly among the student classes. Often the wage-workers were so busily engaged in the factories that they could not be reached but notwithstanding this there were several strikes in the

government arsenals. The authorities kept these strikes secret so that the opposition to war might become as little known as possible.

Many socialists were sent to prison because of their anti-war campaign during the war and the movement was nearly crushed. Many socialists left the country for safety. Dr. Kotoku went to America. After the war the Katsura Cabinet became extremely unpopular on account of the Port Mouth Peace Treaty. A great riot broke out in Tokyo and also in other cities and the people burnt up the police stations. For a few days the Capitol was entirely in the hands of an angry and revolutionary mob.

Later the Katsura Military Government resigned to give the reins to the Liberal Party upon condition that it nationalize the railroads by the incoming Saionji Cabinet.

It is now an open secret that Marquis Katsura and others in his class made themselves enormously wealthy by buying up railroad shares for which the government has paid them a double or treble price.

Under the new (Liberal) Ministry in 1906 after the crushing of the riot (1905) the police power was tamed and in the spring of 1906 we formed a socialist party in Japan. Several socialist papers were started with every prospect of a large circulation. Socialist meetings were not molested and the increase in party members grew steadily.

Just at this time the street railway started to raise the fare 25%. Socialists got up propaganda against this extortion. Pamphlets were printed and monster meetings held at the Hibiya Park. One of these meetings was broken up and the people, wild with rage, went to the city hall and broke a few windows. The result was a prison term for some dozen socialists.

But the party is still growing. In 1906 Mr. Kotoku returned from America and with him Direct Actionism was introduced into Japan. It was new to the comrades but all worked in harmony for the cause.

In 1907 a socialist paper was started. The fund for this undertaking was furnished by a rich young man, who has since become a police tool. The daily was

welcomed by the public and was considered by every one to be a great force and power.

In the spring of 1907 there was a big strike in the Asio Copper mines and over \$2,000,000 worth of mine property was destroyed by the strikers and over 100 miners were arrested. Soldiers went to declare martial law in the mine and its town. Then followed the two large strikes at Bessi. The Poroni miners in their riots set the whole country—or rather the capitalist class—in terror. Mr. Kotoku carried the socialist party into Direct Action camp and sought to propagate the free communism of Kropotkin.

The writer was not in Japan at this time but before his return the authorities had suppressed the socialist party and the editors of the daily were on trial and in some cases under press law, and in prison. The Direct Actionists went to extremes and finally their press was suppressed and the editors sentenced to terms in prison.

At this juncture the writer started the present *Shakai-Swibun*, first a weekly and then a monthly periodical. There was at this time several papers advocating Direct Action and other Socialist papers on a scientific Marxian basis.

The differences between the two policies increased and the police became more active so that nearly all the papers have been suppressed and the editors sent to prison. During the last two years Japanese socialists have done very little. But the *Shakai Shiwun* still appears monthly with a circulation of nine or ten hundred copies.

However, the very fact that many socialists are serving prison terms is one living cause for the continued growth of socialism in Japan.

Last year a Buddhist priest, Achiyawa Gudo of Hakone, was arrested on the charge of secret printing and keeping bombshells and he was condemned to twelve years imprisonment. Last year Mr. Kotoku translated Kropotkin's "Conquest for Bread" and it was distributed before it could be suppressed or confiscated. His wife published a paper called "Free Thought" in two numbers. Both were suppressed and the editor was fined 400 yen.

About this time the authorities became

very severe and dogged the footsteps of all socialists. On some days no socialists were allowed to leave their homes and go onto the streets. Kotoku was watched day and night by eight policemen in two shifts, two standing in front and two back of his house. When he went out he was followed by two.

Personally I do not agree with the Direct Actionists or advocate Direct Action for Japan. It seems unwise to me. But we all feel that government oppres-

sion against the Direct Actionists will only drive them to more extreme methods.

The parliamentary socialists suffer from the words of the extremists and we have much hard work before us before we shall gain solid ground.

We are now all under the ban and liable to arrest. The future—the near future—is dark and gloomy. It is impossible to predict what will happen to our movement and our lives!

Penitentiary Secrets

By

ALEXANDER JOHNS



THE worst trouble with the American penitentiaries is politics. I speak of one penitentiary in particular. Here the guards are often too ignorant to write their own names. The chief mark of eligibility is that these men have been able to produce twenty votes for the party in power. So one of the guards has informed me.

My brother is demented, he said, and knows nothing, and then he added confidentially, except how to vote. Evidently the brother voted the "right" ticket, to help this guard secure his job.

A few prisoners here are employed by contractors who pay the state by the day for the labor of convicts. An able-bodied man serving more than one year, is let out at 85 cents a day, the day being 7½ to 11 hours long. If the contractor is rushed and the prisoner is able to do more than his allotted task, he is paid by the rate at which he is tasked and if he is unable to perform the work, he is sent to the Cellar.

When the Republicans were in power here, the unfortunate victims were generally stripped of their clothes, laid across a barrel and spanked with a wooden paddle, with holes bored in it. But the present regime calls itself a Reform administration and they have cut out the paddle. They still, however, hang prisoners up by the wrists making them hang from sixteen to twenty hours without anything to

eat. When they are taken down, these poor men are fed a piece of bread and molasses and sent out to see if they can do the work assigned them.

And the horror of the cellar is so strong upon them, that they generally make good.

I have seen a guard seize and choke a prisoner who has done nothing at all to provoke him, one guard, in particular, who is seldom, if ever sober, drives the prisoners away from the fire when it is cold—so cold that they are forced to keep walking up and down the floor by their machines to keep warm, after their tasks are done.

Men and women visit this place every day and see none of these things, but I see them every day.

Meat for the prisoners is bought by the contract at about 6 cts. a pound and it is unnecessary for me to explain what kind of meat it is.

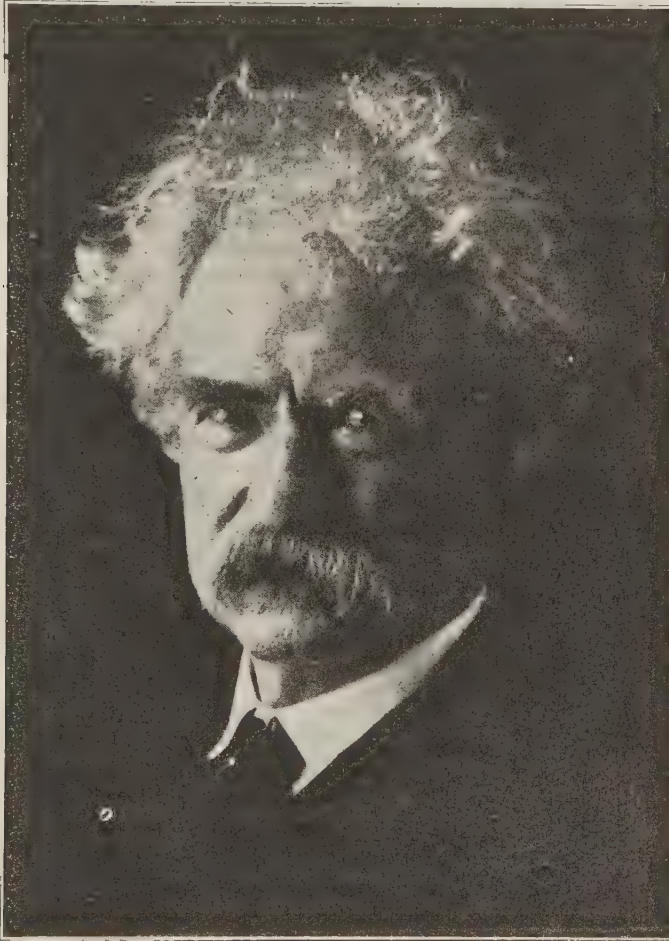
Breakfast is "served" at 5:30 A. M., being bread and molasses, after which the prisoners are marched to the shops to work. At 11:00 A. M. they march back to dinner which consists of bread and boiled meat and sometimes potatoes with the skins on. Then back they go to the shops till 5:15. Supper consists of bread and jelly.

For infirm men, contractors pay the state only 65 cts. a day but do not imagine because of this that his tasks are any lighter. The infirm man is the very first chosen to work—because he is the cheapest man. Contractors prefer him to others.

Mark Twain: Radical

By

EMANUEL JULIUS



Mark Twain.



ONE August evening in 1908 it was the pleasure of my life to spend a few hours with Mark Twain. We leisurely strolled along the beautiful roads that lead to the Pocantico Hills over-

looking the placid Hudson.

While walking towards the hills we spoke only a word now and then. The sun was sinking in the west and flashed a shaft of red fire over the river that dazzled us with its splendor.

Presently we reached the highest point of the hill we were climbing. The view that stretched before us was indeed magnificent.

Below us we could see the village of Tarrytown. Directly opposite, on the western shore, was the village Nyack.

The exertion of the last hour had tired us so we sat down on a huge stone. Twain immediately became more talkative. The expression on his face was one of seriousness. "Young man," said he, "I wish to thank you for not having expected me to tell you a whole lot of jokes. I appreciate that very much."

The look on my face must have told him I did not understand for he added, "You see, it's very bad to make my living by making people laugh. Then, when they meet me they always look for jokes, for something funny; and if I don't supply it they shake their heads, go away, and tell their friends 'the old man's getting older.'"

Twain told me what I already knew—that he *was* serious minded. To me it seems terrible to even think of telling people I am serious. To say something seriously and have people giggle and think you are joking is a tragedy indeed!

To me Twain is very humorous. But Twain's humor is as the city man's garden—merely a pastime—a side play. He is *not* a humorist but a philosopher, a thinker, a radical, a progressive and an apostle of true democracy.

I can no more look on Mark Twain as a humorist than I can on Lincoln as a rail splitter. Twain said humorous and witty things during his life but he did other things just as Lincoln did some things besides splitting rails.

To be a philosopher usually means to be scorned and hated. But to be laughed at! What a pitiable paradox!

It has been said that philosophers possess no sense of humor and when they do they cease to be philosophers.

George Bernard Shaw said the following a few years past: "Mark Twain is by far the greatest American writer. I am speaking of him rather as a sociologist than as a humorist. Of course he is in very much the same position as myself—he has to put things in such a way as to make people who would otherwise hang him believe he is joking."

Shaw was right as was the journal *Die Schöne Literatur* when it recently said, "Although Mark Twain's humor moves us to irresistible laughter, this is not the main

point in his books; like all true humorists, *ist der Witz mit dem Weltschmerz verbunden*, he is a witness to higher emotions, and his purpose is to expose bad morals and evil circumstances, in order to improve and ennoble mankind."

The Daily Chronicle (London) said editorially, after his death, that he had "The ironic gift of puzzling people and leaving them divided between seriousness and laughter."

This, in a measure is true if the editor means some people but if it signifies *all* people than I disagree.

To illustrate how Twain was grossly misunderstood because he injected humor into his writings I will turn to his "A Connecticut Yankee at King Arthur's Court."

I look on this book as one of the strongest attacks on class privilege, aristocracy and monarchy ever penned.

A prominent critic read it through and then learnedly announced that placing a Yankee in an aristocrat's court is certainly a very funny joke but four hundred pages of this joke was too much—a twenty page pamphlet would have been sufficient!

All of Twain's appeals for equality, democracy, denunciations of class privilege no more affected him than water a duck's back.

I must return to my conversation with Twain.

"Did you ever read my book, 'The Man that Corrupted Hadleyburg?'" asked Twain of me. I looked sheepish.

"Come, come, that's no crime. You know, about 15,000 books come out every year and a good many millions are in existence now, so don't be ashamed to say you haven't read some particular book. I'd be a fool if I expected you to have read every book I mention."

"Well, people didn't understand it. Thought it is one city or another. Didn't know it was the model for the world; its people were the race. Might as well have asked Plato if his Republic was Baltimore or Chicago."

But I had one critic who understood me and that was my daughter Susy. She knew me and never looked for jokes."

I believe it would be well to quote little Susy. What follows was written when she was but fourteen years of age:

"He is known to the public as a humorist,

but he has much more in him that is earnest than that is humorous. . . .

"His 'Prince and the Pauper' is his most original and best production; it shows the most of any of his books what kind of pictures are in his mind, usually. Not that the pictures of England in the Sixteenth century and the adventures of a little prince and pauper are the kind of things he mainly thinks about, but that that book and those pictures represent the train of thought and imagination he would be likely to be thinking of today, tomorrow or next day, more nearly than those given in 'Tom Sawyer' or 'Huckleberry Finn.'"

"It is so yet", Mark Twain once said on reading this opinion more than a score of years later when the child was dead.

Continuing, Susy wrote: "When we are alone nine times out of ten he talks about some very earnest subject, (with an occasional joke thrown in,) and he a good deal more often talks upon such subjects than the other kind.

"He is as much a philosopher as anything, I think. I think he could have done a great deal in this direction if he had studied while young, for he seems to enjoy reasoning out things, no matter what; in a great many such directions he has greater ability than in the gifts which have made him famous."

Mark Twain always felt that this little critic knew him. Commenting he said long afterwards, "Two years after she passed out of my life I wrote a philosophy. Of the three persons who have seen the manuscript only one understood it, and all three condemned it. If she could have read it she also would have condemned it, possibly—probably, in fact—but she would have understood it."

* Little Susie's love for "The Prince and the Pauper" above all others may have been due greatly to her few years but the book teaches a beautiful lesson—a lesson of democracy—equality. Here we have a prince and a pauper—they change clothes and places and things go gliding on without a hitch. Clothes did but separate them! Princes are also made of the common clay of ordinary mortals!

Twain's democracy knew no conservatism, cant nor conventionality. His views on institutions were revolutionary. To him they were man-made, to be unmade by the

maker. He looked on mere institutions as extraneous.

"They are its (the country's) mere clothing, and clothing can wear out, become ragged, cease to be comfortable, cease to protect the body from Winter, disease, and death. To be loyal to rags, to shout for rags, to worship rags, to die for rags—that is a loyalty of unreason; it is pure animal; it belongs to monarchy, let monarchy keep it."

Every reform that made for progress found a ready friend and advocate in Mark Twain. Coming from the working class—of the West—the fertile field of true democracy, it is no wonder that Twain always thought of the public's interest.

His attacks on the looting missionaries in China and United States' Phillipine policy drew forth much criticism. He was advised not to desert his humor.

Imbeciles! Little did they know that his humor was but a mask over his attacks on evils and injustices.

Woman suffrage had Twain as a warm friend. Every woman—and every man, for that matter—should read "Eve's Diary." Its philosophy is delicious. Its moral is plain.

Here we are taught woman's tender influence on man—an influence for the best. Here Adam, during his life, only thinking of his superiority over her realizes, after her death that "Wheresoever she was, there was Eden."

Twain nowhere preaches the doctrine of feminine superiority but every thought is permeated with the suggestion of where this superiority finds expression.

On being asked if he favored the militant tactics of the British suffragists Mark Twain replied:

"The cause of freedom cannot be won without vigorous fighting. Militant methods have appeared necessary to the women who have adopted them. These women have the interests of a great cause at stake, and I approve of their using any methods which they see fit for accomplishing the big results which they are fighting for.

"You may use one method to carry a cause to victory. I may use another. Militant methods have appeared necessary in the fight of the suffragettes in many places where the cause finds its main supporters."

Mark Twain's ever active, wonderful imagination made it possible for him to take what was seemingly a statistical fact and mould it into a word picture that would produce an ineradicable impression on the mind.

For example, I will turn to his autobiography. Here Twain introduces statistics telling us that 10,000 persons are killed outright and 80,000 injured on the railroads of this country. But Twain does not stop here. Let him speak for himself:

"I had a dream last night. It was an admirable dream what there was of it.

"In it I saw a funeral procession; I saw it from a mountain peak; I saw it crawling along and curving here and there, serpent like, through a level, vast plain.

"I seemed to see a hundred miles of the procession; but neither the beginning of it nor the end of it was within the limits of my vision. The procession was in ten divisions, each division marked by a somber flag, and the whole represented ten years of our railway activities in accident line.

"Each division was composed of 80,000 cripples, and was bearing its own year's 10,000 mutilated corpses to the grave; in the aggregate 800,000 cripples, and 100,000 dead, drenched in blood."

In another part of his *Autobiography* Mark Twain gives expression to his fear that America was rapidly traveling over the road that leads to monarchy. This he dreaded. Twain's comment was based on a speech by Elihu Root. In his address Root stated that the centralization of Government at Washington was effecting the elimination of State rights. To this Twain declared: —

"He did not say in so many words that we are proceeding in a steady march toward eventual and unavoidable replacement of the Republic by monarchy, but I suppose he was aware that this is the case. He notes the several steps, the customary steps, which in all ages have led to the consolidation of loose and scattered governmental forces into formidable centralizations of authority, but he stops there, and doesn't add up the sum.

"Human nature being what it is, I suppose we must expect to drift into monarchy by and by We are all alike, we human beings; and in our blood and bone, and ineradicable, we carry the seeds out of which monarchies and aristocracies are

grown; worship of gauds, titles, distinctions, power.

"We have to be despised by somebody whom we regard as above us, or we are not happy; we have to have somebody to worship and envy, or we cannot be content.

"In America we manifest this in all the ancient and customary ways. In public we scoff at titles and hereditary privilege; but privately we hanker after them, and when we get a chance we buy them for cash and a daughter.

"And when we get them the whole nation publicly chaffs and scoffs—and privately envies—and also is proud of the honor which has been conferred upon us. We run over our list of titled purchases every now and then in the newspapers, and discuss them and caress them, and are thankful and happy.

"Like all other nations, we worship money and the possessors of it—they being our aristocracy and we have to have one. We like to read about rich people in the papers; the papers know it, and they do their best to keep this appetite liberally fed. They even leave out a football bull fight now and then to get room for all particulars of how, according to display heading, 'Rich Woman Fell Down Cellar—Not Hurt.'

"The falling down the cellar is of no interest to us when the woman is not rich; but no rich woman can fall down cellar without we yearn to know all about it and wish it was us

"I suppose we must expect that unavoidable and irresistible circumstances will gradually take away the power of the States and concentrate them in the central Government, and that the Republic will then repeat the history of all time and become a monarchy, but I believe that if we obstruct these encroachments and steadily resist them the monarchy can be postponed for a good while yet."

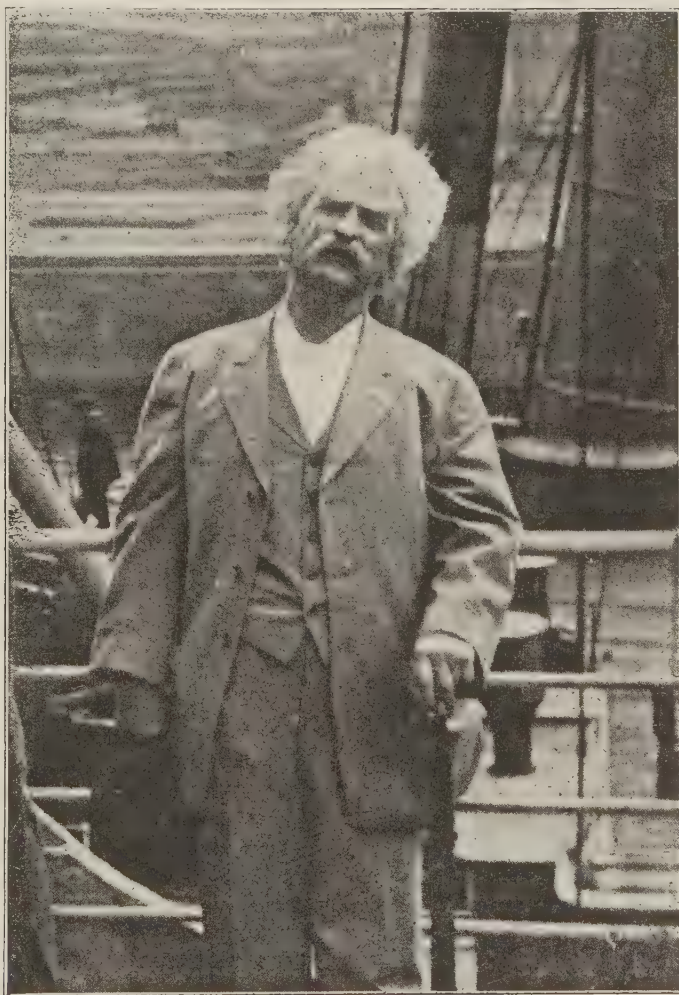
Of all Twain's books I have read I believe his few lines in "The Connecticut Yankee in King Arthur's Court" on the French Revolution are the most striking. Here he shows himself capable of disregarding the so-called teachers and professors of our day; examining that great cataclysm in its true light and expressing himself in sympathy with the oppressed, suffering millions instead of a handful of "nobles." Here are his words:

"Why, it was like reading about France

and the French before the ever memorable and blessed Revolution which swept a thousand years of such villainy away in one swift tidal wave of blood; a settlement of that hoary debt in the proportion of half a drop of blood for each hogshhead of it that had been pressed by slow tortures out of that people in the weary stretch of ten centuries of wrong and shame and misery, the

millions, but our shudders are for the 'horrors' of the minor terror, the momentary Terror, so to speak, whereas, what is the horror of swift death by the axe, compared by lifelong death from hunger, cold, insult, cruelty and heart-break? What is swift death by lightning compared with death by slow fire at the stake?

"A city cemetery could contain the cof-



like of which was not to be mated but in Hell.

"There were two 'Reigns of Terror,' if we would but remember it and consider it; the one wrought murder in hot passion, the other in heartless cold blood; the one lasted mere months; the other had lasted a thousand years: the one inflicted death upon ten thousand persons, the other upon a hundred

finns filled by that brief Terror which we have all been so diligently taught to shiver at and mourn over; but all France could hardly contain the coffins filled by that older and real Terror—that unspeakably bitter and awful Terror—which none of us has been taught to see in its vastness or pity as it deserves."

One more quotation and I conclude. Here

I wish to add an excerpt that portrays a phase of Twain other than that of a Democrat. In the "Connecticut Yankee" he expresses himself as follows on heredity and environment:

"Training—training is everything; training is all there is to a person. We speak of nature; it is folly; there is no such thing as nature; what we call by that misleading name is merely heredity and training. We have no thoughts of our own, no opinions of our own; they are transmitted to us, trained into us.

"All that is originally in us, and therefore creditable or discreditable to us, can be covered up and hidden by the point of a cambric needle, all the rest being atoms contributed by, and inherited from, a procession of ancestors that stretches back a billion years to the Adam—clam or grasshopper or monkey from whom our race has been so tediously and ostentatiously and unprofitably developed.

"And as for me, all that I think about in

this plodding, sad pilgrimage, this pathetic drift between the eternities, is to look out and humbly live a pure and high and blameless life, and save that one microscopic atom in me that is truly ME; the rest may land in Sheol and welcome for all I care."

Nothing is so easy as to speak for the future. Nothing is so dangerous. I will not attempt to measure the position history will accord Twain. Will it view him as a Democrat of the higher order? Possibly. But Twain's strength lies in the work he did in portraying characters of a past age.

The Middle West of the 'fifties produced types that were purely her own. Twain caught them in his net and gave them to us in books.

Books that are of life never die. When types and the conditions that produced them are no more then the writer who recorded their characteristics and designs becomes an historian. He then becomes indispensable, and whether the future will or no he must live.

Socialism the Issue

By

TOM LEWIS



THIS very apparent to every intelligent being who has his ear to the industrial sounding-board that the rumblings we hear mean something. They shake the three-hundred - and-forty-pound mouthpiece of the present administration, and its head, representing the G. O. P. (Greatest Of Parasites) until they respond by denouncing Socialism at every opportunity.

We should encourage this for all we are worth, by every means at our command, since if he continues to do as well in all his speeches as he did in the one at Jackson, Mich., he will present our side of the question as forcibly as we could do it for ourselves.

Socialism is the issue; Taft confesses it. Now then, Mr. Worker, break loose from your old moorings. Break away from the slave-wharf that your master has had you tied to so long. Cut loose. The storm rages. He is sending out his signals through the press and schools, and is also trying to prepare his light-houses. The false beacons are Taft, Roosevelt and Nicholas Murray Butler. Beware of the shoals and reefs, where your craft will be engulfed and wrecked, should you be led by their lights. No, worker, beware!

The light that leads you to safety and Freedom is the RED. It stands for our class. It's our light. What does it mean to us? Just this, slave. The abolition of capitalism. The overthrow of wage-slavery. The doing away with kings, queens,

financial and otherwise, ladies, gentlemen, crooks, thieves, business marauders, masters, bosses, bums, hoboes, slaves, tramps, policemen and thugs, sky-pilots, frauds and intellectual prostitutes, beggars and politicians. Lawyers too, most of the doctors, very many dentists, astrologers, palm-readers, fakirs, schemers and advertising, charity, poverty and crime in general, including the red-light district. Everyone could afford to get married properly. Isn't that worth fighting for?

Who are you that would say no? None but a coward and an ignoramus.

The reader may think that is exaggeration, but it is not. Of course, it wouldn't happen with one fell swoop. That should be understood, since we have been several thousand years developing to our present standard, which is very bum to say the least, particularly if you are a wage-slave.

But people think in accordance with the way they get their living. We are the reflex of our conditions and environment. Then naturally it follows that since we are slaves we can think only as slaves. That is, we must sell ourselves to our master, and he pays us wages for our services. Now if we get small wages, we are not thinking of buying air-ships, or automobiles or going to grand opera, but rather guessing as to whether we can afford one or two good meals during the week, and take in a moving picture show or two. Our whole life is filled with fear, because we don't know how long the job will last, since it doesn't belong to us.

You see, labor creates all wealth. And for the energy expended in producing it, we get wages. How are wages determined? Well, by the cost of production. What is meant by that? How much does it cost to keep you? On an average the slaves throughout the country get about \$1.35 a day. Now, some of us must marry so as to bring children into the world. That requires a little energy and a great nerve now-a-days, when conditions are so bad. But you see if we had no children, then capitalism would die. So we get enough wages to reproduce our kind, so, you see, when we get hurt, or disabled, or die, the masters have new slaves to take our places. And we furnish them.

And what do we get when we work? Wages. What are wages? Well, just a portion. What portion? Just enough to keep us alive over night so that we may renew our energy, so that we are strong enough to Jack-ass the next day. What does the master get? The surplus. What does he do? Oh, nothing. What has he got? About everything. Well, what does the worker do? Everything but think. What has he got? Nothing. Oh, but ain't we the chumps?

Workingmen don't wake up. Taft and his kind might have to go to work. And that would be awful. No wonder he is afraid of Socialism. How would you like to see him dreaming that he was working? Do you think he would pull through?

It has been objected, that upon the abolition of private property all work will cease, and universal laziness will overtake us.

According to this, bourgeois society ought long ago to have gone to the dogs through sheer idleness.

Communist Manifesto.

Industrial Unionism

A Letter to

TOM MANN



OUR communication of the 19th ult. has been received and has been noted with special interest and appreciation. Of course I know you and have known you for a number of years by your excellent work. I

followed you to Australia and read a number of your articles from there but did not know until your letter came that you had returned to England.

Let me thank you most warmly for your kind words in reference to myself personally and to say in answer that I have the same high regard, the same strong attachment for you as a fellow-worker and revolutionist.

Touching the matter of industrial unionism to which you refer, we have had, as you are aware, some peculiar and distressing experiences on this side. But we are not in the least discouraged, nor any less ardent in our advocacy of the principles of industrial unionism, while we have profited somewhat, I trust, by that experience.

By even mail I am sending you a few booklets in which you will find my views upon the essentials set forth pretty fully, if not as clearly as I would wish to present them. In answer to your direct inquiry I have to say that I too am opposed, like yourself, to undertaking to destroy the old unions. Such a policy can be fruitful only of mischief to industrial unionism, as we have reason to know on this side. It is true that the old unions are for the most part thoroughly outgrown, reactionary, and utterly hostile to revolutionary agitation and activity, and that their leaders are of the same character, if they are not corrupt besides, and yet to attempt to destroy them is

to make them more impregnable as strongholds of capitalism, strengthen their leaders in the estimation of the rank and file, and give them a new lease of prestige and power.

I do believe that an industrial union should be organized and it should carry forward a most vigorous and comprehensive propaganda. There are millions of unorganized to whom it can make its appeal, as well as to those who are organized and lean toward industrial unionism. It should be distinctly understood that to smash the existing unions and establish industrial unions by force is not its mission, but that on the contrary, it has come as the most intelligent and effective expression of labor unionism, that its purpose is to build and not to destroy, to help and not to hinder, thus inspiring the confidence of the workers, whether organized or unorganized, and recruiting its ranks from the most intelligent and experienced in every department of industrial activity.

The taunts and sneers of the "pure and simple" leaders who have nothing to lose but their jobs, and whose leadership depends upon their keeping the workers segregated in craft unions, may well be ignored, instead of allowing ourselves to be goaded into attacking them, thereby giving warrant to these leaders in charging us, which they are only too eager to do, with seeking to destroy their unions. The effect of this is invariably to fortify these unions more strongly in their reactionary attitude, and their so-called leaders in their corrupt and degrading domination.

It is far wiser, as our experience has demonstrated, to devote our time, means and energy to advocating the principles of industrial unionism, building up our organ-

ization and vitalizing our propaganda by an appeal to the intelligence and integrity of the workers, bearing with them patiently and perseveringly, while at the same time aiding and encouraging them in all their struggles for better conditions, than to waste time in denouncing, or seeking to destroy, these reactionary old unions and their leaders.

Industrial unionism, as organized and applied, to find favor with the workers, must give proof of its sympathy with them in all their struggles, rejoice with them when they win, and when they lose cheer them up and point the way to victory.

It matters not what union it is that happens to be engaged in a fight with the master class, or what its attitude may be toward industrial unionism, the invariable policy of the industrial union should be to back up the contestants and help them win their struggle by all the means at its command. This policy will do more, infinitely more to inspire the faith of the workers in industrial unionism and draw them to its standard than any possible amount of denunciation or attempted destruction of the old unions.

Nor do I believe in organizing dual unions in any case where the old union substantially holds the field. Where an old union is disintegrating it is of course different. Here there is need of organization, or rather reorganization, and hence a legitimate field for industrial unionism.

Industrial evolution has made indus-

trial unionism possible and revolutionary education and agitation must now make it inevitable. To this end we should bore from within and without, the industrial unionists within the old unions working together in perfect harmony with the industrial unionists upon the outside engaged in laying the foundation and erecting the superstructure of the new revolutionary economic organization, the embryonic industrial democracy.

The difficulties we have encountered on this side since organizing the Industrial Workers have largely been overcome and I believe the time is near at hand when all industrial unionists will work together to build up the needed organization and when industrial unionism will receive such impetus as will force it to the front irresistibly in response to the crying need of the enslaved and despoiled workers in their struggle for emancipation.

The economic organization of the working class is as essential to the revolutionary movement as the sun is to light and the workers are coming more and more to realize it, and the triumph of industrial unionism over craft unionism is but a question of time, and this can be materially shortened if we but deal wisely and sanely with the situation.

Believe me in the bonds of industrial unionism and socialism

Your comrade and fellow-worker,

Eugene V. Debs.

Beer Brewing and the Brewery Workers of the United States.

By

HERMAN SCHULTER

From History of the Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers Organization.



IN December, 1620, the Pilgrim Fathers landed in the harbor of Plymouth. When a small party went on shore to reconnoitre and found no water to quench their thirst, one of them laughingly remarked that

it was a pity they had not brought along some beer from the supply on board the Mayflower. The Christmas festival was celebrated on board the Mayflower. it is reported, with a good drink of beer, a proof that the Puritans of that time, unlike their successors, knew how to combine their religious observances and convictions with the use of alcoholic beverages.

In the first year of the settlement the colonists planted the grain necessary for brewing beer, but with poor results, for the soil of Massachusetts was not well suited for the raising of barley. They therefore imported the materials for brewing, and also some beer itself, from England. A poem of that time informs us that the Pilgrim Fathers had such a tremendous thirst after alcoholic drinks that for want of beer they made intoxicating beverages out of pumpkins, parsnips, and shavings of walnut wood.

John Jenny was the first professional brewer who came to Plymouth, in 1623, but it is not known whether he pursued his trade in the colonies. In the beginning, brewing in America was naturally a domestic occupation; the colonists brewed beer, just as they baked bread, for the use of their own families . . .

The first Dutch settlers of Manhattan were familiar with the preparation of beer, for in Holland the art of brewing was widespread. There is no doubt, therefore, that the first inhabitants of Manhattan brewed their own beer, but shortly after the settlement brewing became an independent industry.

As early as 1612 Adrian Block and Hans Christiansen erected at the south end of Manhattan Island a row of buildings, of which one soon became a beer-brewery. This was the first brewery in America, and the building is of further interest because the first white child in New York was born under its roof.

Beer brewing was introduced in Pennsylvania by William Penn himself, who preferred malt beverages to "fire water" and who erected a brewery near his residence in Pennsbury in 1683. It was he who made the "Quaker Beer" famous. Before the end of the century the first brewery was established in Philadelphia, the owner being one William Framton, whom William Penn describes as "a very able man who had erected a large brew-house in order to provide good drink for the people up-river, and down-river."

In the southern provinces the climate was unfavorable to beer-brewing. Barley did not grow well, or became too hard for malting on account of the heat.

General Oglethorpe tried to establish a brewery in Georgia in 1740 in order to provide beer for his soldiers; to promote this enterprise he forbade the sale of rum and other spirituous liquors. . . .

It is reported that when Oglethorpe

made an expedition with his soldiers down the river he used a peculiar method to keep his men together. The soldiers were embarked in a number of small boats, and on one of these the General placed the entire supply of beer. The men in the other boats had to row pretty vigorously in order to keep near the one carrying the beer. If they did not reach it in time they had to quench their thirst with river water.

The progress of the industry was slow, but nevertheless there was progress. In 1810, we find in the U. S. 129 breweries, distributed through ten states. The farthest west of these was Ohio.

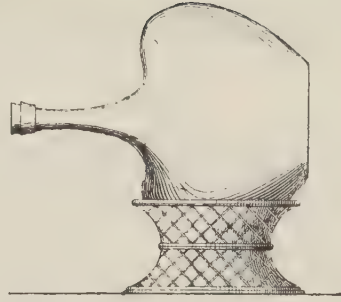
. . . the white population pressed westward, and fertile farms and small villages blossomed in places heretofore trodden only by the red man. The political movements of the thirties drove a mass of people across the sea, especially of South Germans, and these helped to settle the northwestern part of the United States. This element remained true to its old habits of life, and as a result of this immigration, which in 1848 became a veritable stream, we find breweries started up all over the West. . . .

. . . Further west we find in the forties the foundation for the great brewing establishments which existed there later. In Chicago there was a small brewery in 1833, which was owned by William Lill. The brewing industry of Milwaukee started in 1840 when Hermann Reidelshoer erected the first brewery. At the same time the foundation of the beer-brewing industry was laid in St. Louis.

Lager Beer.

Lager beer requires slower fermentation, because it has to be brewed stronger in order to keep better. It also requires a lower temperature for its production than porter and ale. At a time, therefore, when artificial ice and cooling machines were not known and cooling places had to be provided by making cellars in the rock, the preparation of lager beer was more expensive than the other kind.

In addition to this, yeast which is necessary for the fermentation of lager beer, was not known in America; and as ships took such a long time in crossing the ocean, it was not practicable to im-



Ye old time Green Beer Jug.

port yeast, as it was thought that it would not keep so long.

The great value which was placed on this lager-beer yeast can be judged from the fact that a brother-in-law of John Wagner (who brewed the first lager beer in America) is said to have stolen a pint of it. He was prosecuted for it and was sentenced to two years imprisonment.

In the first decade after its introduction the brewing of lager beer made but slow progress in America. After this, however, with the general development of the industry, the production and consumption of the new beverage grew.

At first the production of lager beer was limited to the winter season, because a particular temperature was necessary for manufacturing and storing it, and it was difficult to obtain this temperature without artificial means. Artificial ice and artificial or mechanical cooling apparatus did not exist. But now, as always happens when a certain need calls for a new invention, the increased demand for lager beer led to the invention of all kinds of cooling machines. The production of artificial ice, and in connection with it, the building of complicated machines for manufacturing ice and producing a low temperature was greatly stimulated by the demand for lager beer. The ice industry really owes its existence to the lager-beer breweries. But the invention of cooling machines and the manufacture of artificial ice again had their effects upon the spread of the lager-beer breweries.

Only the development of the ice and cooling-machine industry enabled the lager beer brewer to do away with the limits which nature had until now drawn. He did not have to brew his lager beer only at certain times of the year, but at

any time when it suited him best. Human knowledge and technique had won a victory over Nature.

Steam.

Naturally by this time the real hand work had almost completely disappeared. The beer-brewing industry was among the first in America in which steam played an important part.

The concentration of the industry also progressed. The average capacity of the breweries of the U. S. from 1850 to 1860 increased only from \$13,291 to \$16,792. In New York, in 1860 the average production per brewery, was \$36,000.

The system of great industry now began to conquer the brewing industry.

What a difference between the mash vats and the brewing kettles of the first American breweries and the magnificent equipment of the breweries of the present day, with their huge kettles, their giant machines and their system of steam and water pipes which wind for miles through the whole establishment.

In a few decades the industrial development turned the log-houses and the insignificant equipment in which American brewing at first had its home, into gigantic establishments with masses of buildings, factory works, stables, and warehouses constituting a veritable city within a city . . . all this forms a picture which gives us an insight into a modern industry in which the hand-labor of man plays no important part in comparison with the powers of nature which man has taken into his service and which faithfully perform the work for which the strength of thousands of men would not be sufficient. The levers and wheels and iron fingers of the machine have replaced human hands and perform with equal or even greater skill the work which was formerly done by hand. And they made it possible for a greater change to take place in society within a century than that which took place in a thousand years in earlier historical periods.

In 1908 the average consumption of beer per capita in the U. S. was a little over twenty gallons.

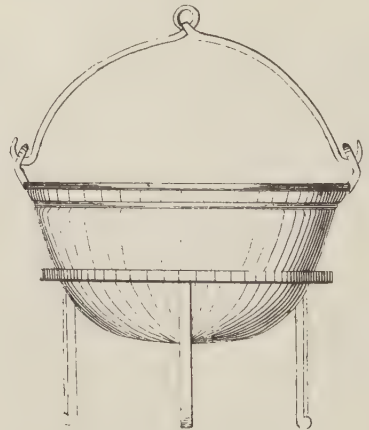
The brewing industry in the U. S. is largely concentrated in the great cities in which the population is largely of a Northern European origin. The city of

New York, with a yearly production of 10,000,000 bbls. stands at the head. Then follow Chicago, with 4,500,000 and Milwaukee, with 4,000,000. St. Louis, Philadelphia and Newark and the vicinity follow in order, with an average yearly production of about 3,000,000.

In St. Louis, New York and Milwaukee we find single breweries which have a yearly production of from 1,000,000 to 1,500,000 barrels and which are among the largest beer establishments in the world.

At last the brewery workmen knocked loudly at the doors of the employers and announced that they wanted their share of the immense wealth they had produced for the employing brewers. They demanded the benefits which the working men of other trades had obtained through their struggles. They demanded human treatment, an adequate wage, and tolerable working hours. They demanded the abolition of the condition of virtual slavery under which the workingmen of the breweries especially had existed, notwithstanding the wealth which the brewery owners had accumulated.

Before the eighties we find in the recorded proceedings of the conventions of the brewing capitalists hardly any mention of their employees. But from this time on, the workingmen made themselves felt and in almost every one of the later conventions of the employers, the question of opposing the demands of their workingmen occupied the bulk of the proceedings.



Primitive Pitch Kettle.

The Brewery Workers' Movement.

The condition of the Brewery Workmen in America before their organization was as bad as can be imagined. It was not only that the wages paid were the smallest possible and that the working time was confined only by the natural limits of humane endurance, but besides this the treatment of the workmen was of such a kind that it seems impossible today to understand how they could submit to it. Cuffs and blows were every day occurrences. When the brewery owner developed into a great capitalist, he transferred to his foremen the privilege of beating the men which he had formerly exercised in person, and the foremen continued to use it until the brewery workmen through their organization freed themselves from this remnant of the barbarism of the Middle Ages.

In the middle of the forties of the nineteenth century the brewery workers received wages from \$4 to \$6 a week. This was for the week-workers; but most of the brewery laborers were employed by the month. They received at that time from \$4 to \$12 a month, together with board and lodging and washing.

In the sixties the wages of brewery workmen amounted to from \$20 to \$25 a month.....From the wages of \$40 to \$55 a month which the brewery workmen in New York were receiving shortly before 1880 (elsewhere it was only \$35 or \$40), the brewer boss deducted \$5 a week for board and the remaining \$20 or \$25 was turned over to the workman.

The workmen were generally required to live wherever the boss required. Frequently they had to sleep together in one large room, but very often they were so exhausted with their heavy work that they simply threw themselves down on the hop-sacks in the brewery to sleep a few hours till work began again.

The inhumanly long hours of labor and the consequent exhaustion of the men led to an excessive use of beer, which was always at their disposal, but which was frequently taken into consideration in fixing the wages. The fatigue and exhaustion resulting from their hard and long continued work compelled the men to drink in order to keep themselves going. They (the employers) promoted

drunkenness among their men and sought to degrade them in order that they might exploit them and use them up the more freely.

The brewing industry is one of those in which the capital used for the purchase of labor-power plays but a comparatively small part. In comparison with the total capital in use in the brewing industry only a few workingmen are employed. These men, owing to their hard labor and the inhuman conditions under which they worked, did not have much opportunity for organization. About 1870 there were on the average only six workmen for each brewery in the U. S., and by 1880 this number had grown only to twelve.

In August, 1866, a general convention of workingmen was held in Baltimore. As a result of this convention the shortening of the working day to eight hours became the principal demand of the entire proletariat of America. The courts soon put an end to this Eight-hour Law.

When, in 1877, the American working class again began to grow uneasy, and when the great strike of the railroad workers led to general struggles and disturbances, the brewery owners, probably recalling to mind the strike of their own slaves in the year 1872, decided to give a few crumbs from their wealth to the men who produced all their riches. The wages of the brewery workmen were increased from \$40 to \$50 and \$52 a month. In this way the strike of 1872, though lost, yet did lead, after half a decade, to an improvement in the condition of those who were at first defeated.

In the labor movement even the lost battles bring progress for the fighters.

The first brewery workmen's union was born in Cincinnati on December 26, 1879.

Under the pressure of the constantly growing labor movement and the fighting courage of the workingmen, the other brewery owners were compelled to recognize the union and to deal with its workingmen. In the winter of 1885—86 all the breweries of New York and the vicinity were again organized. Brewers, beer drivers, and maltsters' unions were formed. The men negotiated with their opponents as power against power and brought it to the

point that the organization of brewery owners, the Brewers' Ass'n, closed a contract with the labor union, good for one year, on April 16, 1886.

According to this contract, the brewery workers of New York and vicinity were promised an increase of wages to the amount of 50 per cent and a shortening of the working hours averaging three hours a day. Under this agreement the wage of the workers amounted to from \$15 to \$18 per week, the daily working hours were reduced to ten, and Sunday labor was entirely eliminated. The extent of this success can be fully realized when one considers that before the making of this contract the wage of the brewers was from \$40 to \$50 per month, with 12 to 18 hours work per day, and Sunday labor of from two to five hours, not to mention further objectionable conditions in the breweries which were greatly modified by this contract.

It can be seen that this was an extraordinary victory which the brewery workers had gained through the solidarity of the working class and through the valiant assistance of the labor press. The workingmen of the brewery trades had suddenly emerged from conditions which were almost intolerable and now their conditions were at least nearly as good as those of their fellow-workers in other trades. From being serfs, they had become men.

Industrial Organization.

In the very beginnings of the union it had become evident that, in view of the special character of the industry, the only practicable and effective organization of brewery workers would be one which embraced all the workingmen in the industry—that is, an industrial organization, not merely a trade organization, which would divide the workingmen of the industry into various unions. The National Secretary in 1887 said: "The chief factor is in the uniting of all trades employed in the brewing industry. Experience in our struggles has taught us what solidarity means. If the drivers, the coopers, the engineers, the firemen, the malsters, had helped us, our victory would have been assured within

twenty-four hours—that is what is being said everywhere and it is correct. Not only are the brewers dependent upon these branches; no, each one is dependent upon the others. **Solidarity, man for man from roof to cellar**, all for each and each for all—this alone can secure our future."

At the St. Louis Convention of the brewery workers in 1899 the National Secretary, in his report recommended that a general vote be taken among the engineers, the firemen, and the teamsters in the National Union of United Brewery Workmen on the question whether they desired to remain in that organization or to join the unions of their respective trades. The Convention rejected the proposition. In support of this refusal it was pointed out that to split up the United Brewery Workmen into different trade organizations would give the brewery owners the longed-for opportunity to play off one portion of the workingmen against another.

It was manifest that it was of great advantage to the brewery owners to split up the brewery workers into different trade organizations, and we may, therefore, assume the truth of the report made to the brewers' convention at Philadelphia in 1901 that there existed proofs that certain officials of local unions of engineers and firemen had joined with brewery workers in order to injure the United Brewery Workmen.

Antagonism Between the A. F. of L. and the Brewers.

The jurisdiction disputes between the United Brewery Workmen and the trade organizations of teamsters, coopers, engineers and firemen were naturally brought before the annual meetings of the A. F. of L. In the decisions of this body the general interest of the labor movement ought to have been decisive consideration, but instead of that, favoritism and personal matters were often taken into account and as a rule a stand was taken against the brewery workers' organization.

Later on, the Executive of the Federation requested the United Brewery Workmen to withdraw all the charters

which it had issued to firemen's and engineers' unions, etc. etc. The Federation took a stand against them (the brewery workers) and declared that the engineers' and firemen's unions which belonged to the United Brewery Workmen must give up their charters and join their trade unions conditionally upon the consent of the brewery workers' convention.

The United Brewery Workmen refused to give up their jurisdiction over brewery firemen and engineers. Toward the end of the year, 1906, the convention of the A. F. of L. assembled at Minneapolis. A resolution was passed at this convention providing that the United Brewery Workmen must submit within 90 days to the decision of the A. F. of L. in regard to jurisdiction over firemen, engineers and drivers employed in breweries, under penalty of having its charter withdrawn by the Federation. On June 1, 1907, the Executive of the A. F. of L. declared the charter of the United Brewery Workmen revoked.

The action of the (A. F. of L.) Executive met everywhere with adverse criticism. Renewed negotiations resulted in the restoration to the United Brewery Workmen of their old charter in the A. F. of L. and in the declaration that they were to have jurisdiction over all workmen employed in the brewing industry.

In New Orleans the struggle lasted more than a year. In that city there existed a union of beer drivers belonging to the United Brewery Workmen. The officers of the Teamsters' Union were not deterred by this fact from organizing a new local union, which then offered its men to the brewery owners at lower wages. Officials in the A. F. of L. played anything but a good role in these disputes.

The industrial organizations of brewery workmen, mine workers, etc., find their interest in having all the workmen in their industries, including teamsters, engineers, etc. in their organization.

For the workmen in the brewing industry, the species of industrial organization which unites all the workmen employed in that industry is the only possible form of organization. It

is, therefore, a question of life and death for these workmen to maintain it, and they cannot under any circumstances allow it to be taken from them.

In closing chapter X comrade Schluter says:

"The future of the brewery workers' organization depends upon the further extension of the industrial form of organization and its connection with the most progressive part of the labor movement. The attempt has already been made to get into closer connection with the food trades, for the present without result. These attempts ought to be repeated. The political organization of the working class, the socialist movement, must be supported and promoted by the brewery workers with all their might in the interest of their own organization and in the interest of the final goal of the entire labor movement, the annihilation of wage slavery, the ending of class rule. The brewery worker must raise himself to the recognition of the fact that his struggle is only a part of that general struggle which is waged by the working class of all countries and which has as its aim the complete emancipation of labor. He must realize that this general struggle is his struggle also, that it must end in victory if the proletarians are not forever to remain proletarians.

Struggle for the formation of a human society in which there will be no wage work and no exploitation, no ruler and no ruled, no capitalists and no wage workers! The industrial struggle is but a part of the great general struggle of the working class for a better future—a future which will be of benefit not only to workmen, but to all humanity.

This struggle can and will be fought out by the working class alone!"

We have quoted at length from the new book by Hermann Schluter, "The Brewing Industry and the Brewery Workers' Movement in America", published by the International Union of the United Brewery Workmen of America, at Cincinnati, Ohio. Comrade Schluter presents so many interesting data upon economic development in the United States that it has been hard to limit our

quotations at all. The struggles and victories and defeats of the United Brewery Workers make one of the most inspiring pictures in the pages of the industrial history of America. No obstacle has been large enough to daunt them. They have fought steadily until at last they have gained their points. Such men make glorious comrades in the our great class conscious struggle for the

abolition of wage slavery. We hope our readers will not forget this book. Experience is the best teacher and the Brewery Workers have had much of it. You will find many difficult things made plain in Comrade Schluter's book. In ordering copies, address International Union of the United Brewery Workmen, Cor. Vine & Calhoun Sts., Cincinnati, Ohio. Price, Leather, \$1.50.

Organized Effort

By

H. A. HEDDEN



I WANT to say just a word to the unorganized voters of the socialist party. What converted you to socialism? Perhaps it was some socialist paper or magazine—all socialist papers and magazines are kept up by organized effort. Perhaps it was a socialist speaker—all socialist speakers are kept on the road, only by an organized effort. Perhaps it was some fellow workman—you will without doubt find that he belongs to the socialist organization. Now comrade, you are a socialist, at least you say you are, and I have no reason to doubt your word; what is the reason that you haven't joined the organization? Come let us reason together, can you think of anything of importance, that was ever accomplished except by an organized effort?

Comrade, socialism isn't a dream, it is something real, something we may have, and enjoy, as soon as we, the workers, are agreed that we want it. That is, we may

have it as soon as a majority demand it at the same time. How then can that time be set? How can we know when we are all ready? There can be only one answer to that question; only when we are thoroughly organized. Then we will make the demand, backed by the united will of the workers. The workers are too powerful for any government to withstand—when organized. Unorganized they have only the power of a mob. A mob might tear down a government, but they never can build anything up. Socialism can never be brought about except by thoroughly organized effort. Are you willing to help? Answer it now, comrade, we need you in the movement.

For every worker in the movement we have at least ten votes. How proud you will be when we have the co-operative commonwealth, to be able to say, I helped. Now comrade think this over very carefully. You may vote the ticket for a million years, but the only way you can have socialism, is to organize and get busy.





A Camp in the Irwin Field.

The Irwin Coal Strike

BY

THOMAS F. KENNEDY



THE fourth startling shock sustained by complacent, self-satisfied American Plutocracy within ten months is the strike of 20,000 or more miners in the Irwin coal fields in Westmoreland county, Pa.

It is a shock not because of its magnitude or duration, but because of the feeling of absolute security enjoyed for years by the operators. They convinced themselves that their kingdom was strike-proof. They had established a perfect quarantine against labor agitators from the outside. Numerous failures of small strikes extending over a long period of years clinched their convictions that they had established ideal labor conditions. They felt as secure as the ancient slave masters, the Feudal barons or Schwab when he drank that toast to "The best, most contented and CHEAPEST labor in the world," meaning of course the workers in his private Siberia at Bethlehem.

The first of the four tooth-loosening shocks was the unorganized, spontaneous revolt of the workers at McKees Rocks in June 1909. The second was at Bethlehem, and the third the general strike at Philadelphia.

The fourth, the strike in the Irwin field, presents some features that were absent in all of the others.

First there was a feeling of distrust between workers in different sections of the field. This began when the Greensburg men refused to join the Latrobe men in a strike some ten years ago. This feeling of distrust has grown with every failure of local strikes.

Although the organizers of the United Mine Workers had been working all through the field the first mine to be closed was at Greensburg. When the Greensburg men and the organizers visited other mines they were met with the cry: "You fellows would not join us when we wanted to strike, now you can go to H—". In spite of these first repulses those that first came out remained out;

continued the agitation and within a month had the field pretty well tied up. At this writing (July 15) the field is practically idle.

Another feature that distinguishes the Irwin strike from the other three epoch marking strikes of the last year is the wide area covered by the mines involved.

At McKees Rocks all worked for one company in one enclosure and entered through the same gate. Six hundred determined men quit one day and next morning planted themselves at the entrance gate, and as thousands of the workers were eager to join them anyhow the strike was on and within 48 hours the works were idle. At Bethlehem the situation was similar and the same tactics were practiced but not with the same success. The car men at Philadelphia were organized. They had the backing of what labor organizations there were and the sympathy of the whole working class and some of the middle class. And almost all of them lived in a city having an area of only about 100 square miles.

Westmoreland Co. has an area of 1060 square miles, and the strike affects nearly half of it. The whole anthracite field has an area of less than 500 miles so that the Irwin strike extends over a larger area than the anthracite region. From Export on the North to Herminie on the South, is twenty miles as the crow flies, but 25 by rail. Bradenville on main line of P. R. R., 43 miles east of Pittsburgh, is the eastern limit of the strike belt. From Export to Bradenville is 35 miles, and from Herminie to Bradenville 25 miles.

Twenty-seven years ago this summer the miners along the Pan Handle R. R. west of Pittsburgh went out on strike. The railroad mines all came out, but the mines at Castle Shannon and Allentown, which supplied the Pittsburgh domestic market and some of the mills remained at work.

With an American flag, a fife, a tenor and a bass drum they marched boldly from Mansfield (now Carnegie) to Castle Shannon through Allentown. The contingent from my old home (Fort Pitt) returned in a few days footsore and bedraggled but rejoicing at the success of their expedition. Some of the men that

took part in that demonstration will surely see this. Jim Croughan who played the bass drum still lives near Carnegie, and the fife player John Riley lives at Oakdale. The coal companies began to import "black legs," as scabs were then called, and on a rocky bluff near my old home, commanding a good view of the two mines at Fort Pitt, tents were erected and a camp maintained until the strike was settled.

In the early days of the present strike in the Irwin field the miners adopted the same tactics practiced with such good results by their fellow craftsmen on the Pan Handle over a quarter of a century ago. They gathered in large bodies and marched past the mines that were working and past the homes of the miners that refused to join them in the battle. They offered no violence to person or property. But messages written in letters of blood could not have had such magic power to move those that remained at work as did these silent bodies of marchers. The purpose of the marchers was not to slug, not to intimidate, not to antagonize their fellow craftsmen, but to win them to the support of the strike.

While they were not immediately successful in every instance, the operators viewed these peaceful demonstrations with dread and alarm. They rushed to the court, demanded and secured immediately a temporary injunction forbidding the marching on the public highways of Westmoreland county. After listening to testimony from both sides, and after the operators had been compelled to admit that all the disorder had been caused by the thugs who were acting as deputies, the judge made it permanent.

The contest in the county court over the granting of the permanent injunction together with several brutal murders committed by agents of the operators and the thugs employed as deputies gave the strike wide publicity. The injunction trial and the murders created more sentiment in favor of the strike amongst all classes than could weeks of preaching and marching.

The injunction was so sweeping, all inclusive and all embracing that when one of their number died the "injunctioned"



Evicted Under the Stars and Stripes.—Jamison No. 1.

miners who wished to walk on the public highways to attend his funeral to avoid being thrown into prison for contempt of court, had to get a special dispensation.

The dead man, John Cambell, had been a member of the celebrated 10th Pennsylvania regiment and had distinguished himself in the Philippine war, and very properly an American flag was carried at the head of the funeral cortege. When passing Jamison No. 2, Tom Jamison, one of the Jamison Company, backed by armed deputies, **ordered the American flag lowered.** When the mourners were returning from the funeral, they were not allowed to follow the most direct route but were compelled by the deputies to take a roundabout road.

Having secured the injunction, the operators commenced evicting workers from the shacks in the company camps. The United Mine Workers who have been providing food for those that needed it from the inception of the strike promptly leased land from farmers and supplied the evicted miners with tents. The camps at each mine are the best kind of an ad-

vertisement that there is a strike. Strike-breakers secured by employment agents through misrepresentation on seeing the camps are bound to have their curiosity aroused and thus become informed of the strike. Strike-breakers wishing to desert are welcomed at the camps and given food and shelter until they get their bearings and determine what to do. In every case they tell of brazen, bare faced lying by the employment agents, and of being held at the works by force when they found out how they had been deceived. The sheriff of the county promised to investigate numerous cases where men have sworn to being held by force at the mines after they wished to leave. No one has yet been arrested upon these sworn charges of peonage, and it is a safe guess that no operator will ever go to prison for this offense.

Pay for "dead work," 8 hours, check-weighman and recognition of the union are the principal demands. And even though they do not force a single one of these concessions from the operators, a great victory has been gained.

The immediate gains at McKees Rocks were trivial, but the lesson it taught, the inspiration it furnished, the hopes it raised and the impulse it gave, marked it as the beginning of an epoch in the labor movement of America. So it is with the Irwin strike, concession or no concession. To have organized even a partial strike in the Irwin field would have been a notable achievement. To stop production as it is now stopped is a signal victory. It will convince the workers that the masters are not invincible. It will nourish their hopes and strengthen their resolution.

It will show the masters that their position is not impregnable. In future, though the apparent victory may rest with them at the end of this struggle, they will be more careful in taking their pound of flesh. The heroic battles fought by miners in surrounding fields has checked somewhat the rapacity of the Irwin operators. So this battle may prevent many a Shylock from giving the screw another turn.

One thing that greatly favored the strikers is the immense amount of Socialist sentiment throughout the district. There are 10 branches of the Socialist Party right in the Irwin field. There are three branches of the Workmen's Sick and Death Benefit Fund of America right in the thick of it. When the organizers of the United Mine Workers were trying to hold meetings in March, the operators approached every hall owner in Irwin and cautioned them upon peril of giving mortal offense not to rent halls to the miners. The only hall the miners could secure in or around Irwin was the little hall that is the property of this society.

* * *

After one murderous shooting up of a town by the deputies, the proof that it was entirely their fault was so overwhelming that the sheriff was obliged to arrest 40 of his own deputies and lodge them in jail.

* * *

At a Socialist meeting at Jamison No. 1 on the evening of July 8 three well-known scabs walked up and took seats on the grass in the middle of the crowd. Several armed deputies were also present,

and we heard later that a large body of these cut-throats were concealed nearby. The purpose of course was to irritate the strikers so they would attack the scabs and use this as an excuse for wholesale murder. They were disappointed because the scabs were not molested, except for the scourging usually given scabs and deputies by the speakers.

* * *

Not a single beer keg, beer case, beer bottle or whiskey bottle around any camp that I have visited. Not a sign of intoxication. This is one of the gratifying features of the strike.

* * *

Numerous dynamite explosions have occurred throughout the district during the strike. No one was injured and no damage to property resulted. If experienced miners accustomed to using explosives had been guilty of such folly there would be somebody or something destroyed. I have not the slightest doubt about declaring that this is the work of the operators or their agents, or of deputies who want their \$5.00 day jobs to last and who perhaps are doing it without the knowledge of the sheriff or his employers, the operators.

One of the noteworthy features of the strike is the sympathy displayed by the farmers. And it is no mere lip sympathy either, but takes the good substantial form of defying the coal corporations and permitting the strikers to erect tents on their farms right under the noses of the scabs.

At Blackburn the company houses front on the public road. A farmer who owned the land on the other side of the road allowed the strikers to erect tents for those that had been evicted. So the tents of the strikers lined the road directly opposite the company houses occupied by the scabs. The superintendent approached the owner of the land and told him the tents were entirely too near the houses and that he should compel the strikers to move them back. The farmer replied promptly, "I thought of that too and was going to ask you to move the houses." The tents were not and will not be moved.

Between 18,000 and 19,000 have quit working. Fully 10,000 of these have left and gone to other fields, some never to return. As soon as the Irwin men showed

any disposition to fight, the organization of District 2 donated \$2,000 and District 5, (Pittsburg) \$8,000. For the last two months the National organization has been financing the strike. They were to have put in \$20,000 a week, but they are hampered for cash by the strikes in Illinois and Kansas and have not been able to put in the full amount every week. A special assessment has been levied and the men who are out will be cared for so that no man can plead hunger as an excuse for returning to work.

Scabs came from all over the United States, but according to their own stories the great bulk of them are unskilled laborers hired in Chicago, New York and Philadelphia. One large vestibuled car was brought from New York loaded and taken down the New Alexander branch the most isolated part of the region. They were told that they were to work in a new mine and that they could make \$6.00 a day with free board, and free beer and whiskey.

About forty of this load deserted in a few days and walked all the way to Irwin, eighteen miles. There were a few French and a number of Germans in this load. Some of them were Socialists and wore the party emblem. They declared that when they discovered how badly they had been deceived and what they were doing, they were ashamed to stop and talk to the strikers.

At a good many mines they have as many deputies as they have men working. The companies pay the deputies \$3.50 a day and expenses. The scabs get free board and free beer and whiskey. So that the coal being mined now in the Irwin field is real black diamonds.

How it Started.

A miner from Greensburg came to the

Miners' headquarters in Pittsburg urging some organizers to come out, that he had a meeting arranged. As a forlorn hope the organizers went, and were agreeably surprised to find a big turn out and before they left they had organized a local.

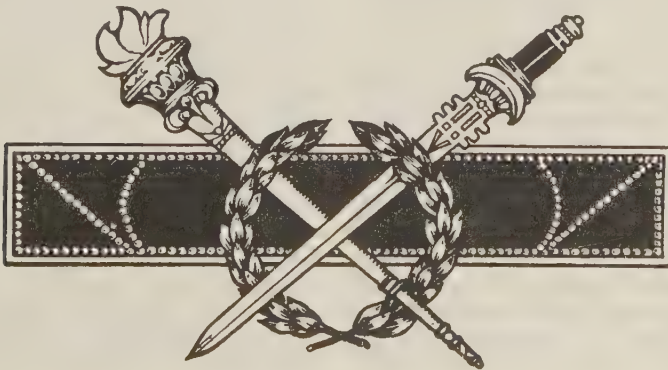
The very next day about 100 men were discharged, 20 or so from each mine. The men had no notion of striking at that time, but immediately sent committees to demand the reinstatement of the discharged men. The operators refused to even see the committees. The men at Greensburg struck, and the strike spread to its present proportions.

The strike is being managed almost entirely by local men though the speakers and organizers are nearly all from outside districts. Many of the strikes of the Mine Workers have been hampered by bickerings and petty jealousies amongst the leaders. Some one wanted to shine and corral all of the glory. If there is any of this spirit present during this strike it is not apparent even to one who has a good opportunity to observe.

West Virginia Next.

When the operators of other districts were approached by their workers for concessions they always said, "Get after Irwin with whom we must compete." They never dreamt that the miners would or could get after Irwin as they are now after it.

West Virginia is the other bugaboo that the operators always spring when the miners demand concessions. Now when Irwin can be stirred to strike, why can't West Virginia? Nothing is impossible after the Irwin experience.



The Impulse Toward Revolution

By

C. W. GARRETT



FROM somewhere comes the anti-socialist contention, "that the low caste person can never be raised above his caste. That he is congenitally unteachable. That if temporarily elevated for a time, he will slip back to his earlier environments. That he is least entitled to life, yet he is necessary. In order that his higher caste prototype may disport himself in luxury and flaunt his high caste virtues in the faces of "inferiors"—this low caste human is necessary to bear the burdens of toil as recompense for the right to exist. To this person the high caste individuals owe no special consideration. To be sure their maintenance and comfort, their very physical existence, depends on his labor; but this is "what nature intended him for!"

How do they assume that nature intended anything of the sort? Who first launched such an idea, and for what reason was it kept afloat to be grafted into the learning of our kind? There is an economic reason behind this and some king, some belted knight, some parvenu knew the reason. Such philosophy did not emanate from the ranks of the proletariat.

We have proofs that nature provides the impulse within living organisms to reach for higher perfection in life. When the young mate do they not instinctively become attracted to health and beauty? The reason is obvious. Today we are in fetters and this rule of nature is artificially circumscribed. We simply have the result of centuries of economic oppression—hereditary economic condition—resulting in a final array of extreme castes in the human races with the intermediate

gradations, where instead should be mere types and temperaments. The rules of nature have in general been confined within morbid artificial limitations and as a result those of a caste beget their kind, and these in turn beget their kind; the tendency being either upward toward perfection or downward according to environment and opportunity based upon economic condition.

By reason of past and present economic uncertainty, the proletariat of today is composed of the different castes; the lower castes predominating. The bourgeoisie is also composed of the different castes; but can we say the higher castes predominate? Perhaps in appearance, yes. But we must consider here an extreme. You will here find, besides the self-sufficient aristocrat, the parvenu of bloated wealth, and the degenerates of hereditary idleness. In a great measure neither is much better, from a natural standpoint, than the other extreme. If by some chance these should be suddenly reduced to the same economic level as the other extreme, then their true caste would become manifest in succeeding generations of their descendents.

The real high caste element, perhaps the predominating element, of the bourgeoisie are of moderate wealth, more balanced and more refined and cultured. Insure all a plenty in moderation, with work to do and not in extremes, and then, and not until then, can we expect nature to fully assert itself through the human impulses.

Now we come to another impulse, a more primary impulse. The impulse which, if not neutralized, should move the world. The impulse that reaches for a higher economic condition for the oppressed, in order that a race may come

nearer perfection in accord with the objective of nature which provides plenty for all and work for all. The impulse that does not emanate from the class above, but from the class below, who, following a natural course, desire more and better things that they may thereby develop into better creatures. The impulse which is born of the proletariat—the revolutionary impulse. Education is not a requisite for this impulse, but education of the proletariat is necessary to enable them to properly and effectively direct an impulse they are bound to use.

I have endeavored to show the true source of revolution and the reasons for it being such. The problem now before us is how to project the revolution and preserve it from neutralization and dilution. To be clear,—how will we meet the tendency that today threatens to neutralize the revolutionary aims and principles of the modern working class—the proletariat? That scientific socialism of the school of Marx along the lines of that classic, the Communist Manifesto?

As I have just pointed out, in part, the education and organization of the proletariat is necessary to enable this class to accomplish the true revolution. "To emancipate themselves." "To abolish the wages system." The belief that this is the only course by which results will ever be obtained, grows stronger each day with many of us, and is being amply borne out by the logic of events.

Whence comes this state of mind among us who are proletarians? We certainly did not invent it. It is just this. This belief among those of the working class, is the result of the great work being accomplished by the Socialist Party and earlier organizations in educating the proletariat along scientific lines. The sowing of the seed of revolutionary and scientific literature among the proletariat is the fertilizing germ that is vitalizing that revolutionary impulse that nature has so unerringly provided us with. And barring anything cataclysmic, that day is not far distant when the proletarian revolutionary body will make itself felt as an organic power, acting for itself and striking the blows that no chains can long withstand. All this I repeat as showing the power of the great educational work carried on by the Socialist

Party. But, can an organization of allied economic counter forces adhere to or fulfill a work so well begun. Probably we shall see once political conquest and power begins to come.

The Communist Manifesto has already been put on the shelf. A great American city has just been captured. Some congressional outposts will likely fall next. But is this not pretty quick work for proletarians in America?

The bourgeois educated proletariat of Philadelphia burst forth on a general strike—the first in America.—Yes, the impulse was there alright and operated in the right direction. But did they propose to lay hold of the city—use political power? Well hardly. Was there a well defined revolutionary organization to direct either an industrial or political conquest? No, the proletariat of America has not yet reached that point in the class struggle. An approach to such a condition, with a well directed revolutionary force behind it, we had at Spokane, where the Industrial Workers of the World assisted by members of both the Socialist Party and the Wage Workers Party, achieved some preliminary results. Some revolutionary education made itself felt here.

Spokane, Philadelphia and Milwaukee in the year 1910.—We have here three phases of the movement from which future steps will proceed. But, beware! You who hasten and you who seek alliances. There are shifting sands in that path. Your gratifications will be akin to the past glories of mere politicians, and not a realization of work well done.

Just as sure as strong vinegar can be diluted with enough water to make it insipid, just so sure can the revolutionary proletarian body be diluted with enough interested neighbors from the other side of the street, to neutralize the force of the revolutionary impulse and render it acceptable to the neighbor's neighbor—the capitalist.

Just as sure as socialist farmers whom I know, have expressed their disapproval of "labor unions," just that sure will they be little else than spectators at chain breaking time.

Just as sure as small business suffers

when big capital gets busy with monopoly, just that sure will small business suffer—if there is any left—when the emancipated proletarian and his neighbor begin to take their “full social product.”

Are we to succumb to the bourgeois

noise and go the way of the unscientific populist, or will we simply smile at those who would descend from above to stand on us and lift?

Give us the knowledge and the force from below will do the work.

Will Roosevelt Save the Country?

“A Step in the Right Direction.”



GREAT deal of to-do is being raised in the States about the recently passed Railroad Regulation Bill, and, unlike most bills over which a fuss is made, it is a measure well worthy of note. Not that it will

regulate any railroads, unless they are bad and refuse to play the game. That is merely what it is supposed to do. What it will do is quite another stunt.

The powers that sway the destinies of railroads have, in the past, made enormous “profits” by “watering the stock.” From the capitalist view point the legitimate capitalization of a railroad or any other enterprise is the sum of money it costs to build and equip it and pay running expenses. From this standpoint, all the railroads, as well as most of the great industries, are very much “over-capitalized.”

Of course, actually, the correct capitalization of an industry is that amount of capital upon which that industry will pay the average rate of profit. But the capitalists, being absolutely ignorant of the economic laws of their own social system, don't know this, and so the railroads are regarded as being very much over-capitalized. Even the great “captains of industry” and “Napoleons of Finance” look at it this way. In fact we have no doubt that they are sure the stock is watered because they watered it, and so, knowing the parentage of this stock, they may be excused for being dubious about its legitimacy.

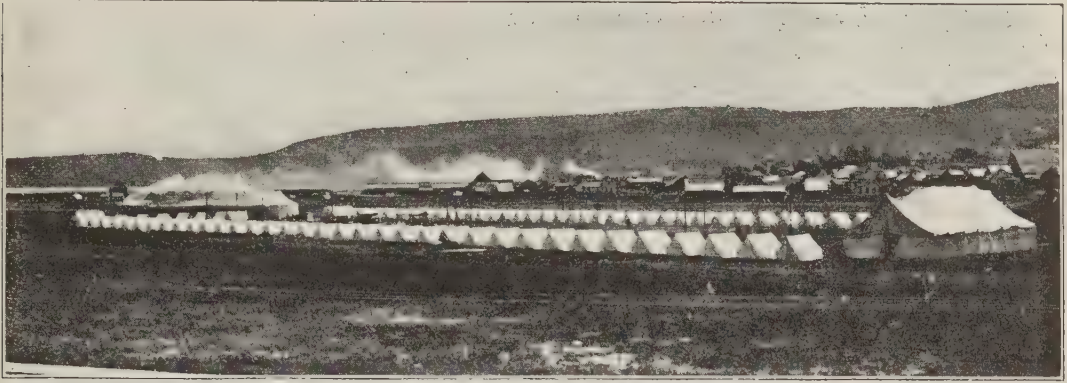
The Railroad Regulation Bill will regulate that. It will remove the shadow of the bar sinister and will legitimize the watered stock in case it should need it.

But why? Well, the great railroad fortunes have been made. All railroads to be “stolen” have been stolen. Their treasuries have been plundered of all they will yield. Bond issues have been frayed to a frazzle. Stocks have been watered till they will not absorb another drop. The systems have been linked up and appropriated by the various groups. There is nothing more in sight except dividends, and dividend drawing is far too slow a method of getting richer quick. Also the Panama Canal is coming. What now?

Only one thing remains. To sell the roads to the Government. And that, we feel confident, is the game the board is being set for. Just imagine the Morgan-Rockefeller-Gould-Belmont-Hill aggregation with railroads to sell and a government to sell them to at their legitimized capitalization. Can one conceive a more dazzling vision of paradise for “malefactors of great wealth”?

So we may expect next to hear of a great popular movement for the government ownership of the railroads. One of these vital national movements that sweep everything before them. And who better qualified to lead such a movement than Teddy the Terror of the Trusts? We shall see.

But the workers, will it benefit them? Not an atom. They will be slaves still and will have to come up with the surplus value as of yore. That their masters will get it as “interest” instead of “dividends” will make not a particle of difference to them. Their wages will be, as formerly, their keep. They will work as long and as hard. If you don't believe us ask the postman.—From the Western Clarion, Vancouver, B.C.



Socialist Camp, Klamath Falls, Oregon. June 1910.

The Oregon-California Encampment

By

KITTIE E. HULSE



HE Socialist Encampment is ended; the tents are folded; of the bivouac fires remain but ashes; quiet reigns on the spot where so recently the stirring strains of the Mar-

seillaise quickened the heart-throbs of men and women who looked into each other's eyes with the comprehending glance of comradeship, more significant than the warm hand-clasp or embrace.

The officers have gone on to choose new sites for bivouacs and positions for other bloodless battles of the Industrial Revolution that is even now in progress.

There is no question that we have gained a victory here and from the bivouac fires of "Camp Progress" have been carried the embers that shall light the fires of revolt in countless other camps.

The Encampment has been a great stone dropped into the current of West-

ern thought and the ripples will spread to its farthest boundaries.

This beautiful city is built like Rome on her seven hills and is destined to become one of the industrial centers of the western interior. It will be henceforth known as the birthplace of the Encampment Idea in the West, and as Comrade Sherman of Ashland humorously announced, will be located as being near the site of the first Oregon-Socialist Encampment. No doubt the back end of Muller's graphophone shop will in time become a historic landmark!

The Encampment at night, with its great canvas auditorium, its hundred smaller tents intended for the accommodation of visiting comrades, illuminated by hundreds of red and white electric lights, was a most inspiring sight to all whose hearts beat faster at the sight of the red flag.

That the Encampment has been a suc-

cess from an educational viewpoint no Socialist who attended would for a moment dispute. There has been a nightly attendance of from two to three thousand during the eight days of the Encampment and fair-sized audiences at afternoon meetings. The attendance of comrades from outside points was much smaller than had been expected, due no doubt to industrial conditions obtaining at this time of year. The most unusual interest has been evinced by the audiences throughout the Encampment.

The local politicians are non-plussed. During the progress of the Cantrell-Smith debate, the valiant defender of the present regime accused the Socialists of having appropriated the "brass band methods" of the Democrats and the Republicans, which, he asserted, had been almost abandoned by the said parties.

Socialists who might condemn the methods used in this instance as spectacular should remember "the first step in pedagogy is to arouse the interest of the child". If, as the Encampment seems to indicate, the shortest road to the understanding of the majority is via brass band and vaudeville, let the anti-sensational element of the party console themselves by reflecting on the words of another great Revolutionist: "The event justifies the deed".

As I looked nightly over the immense throng in the Big Tent, noted the striking absence of dissent to the utterances of our speakers, even the most revolutionary, heard the at times uproarious applause, I recalled the time four years ago when the handful of members comprising Local Klamath Falls held their meetings in a lumber yard. Later the meetings were held at private houses and afterward a hall was hired. The local has had a hard fight and has had its seasons of depressions, also its internal dissensions, but today the movement is progressing at a rapid rate.

The Oregon-California Socialist Band under the efficient leadership of Ernest Griffith cannot be too highly praised for their inspiring work.

Two clever vaudeville teams, Williams and Wright and Mr. and Mrs. Bob Miller furnished the sugar coating to make the

Great Remedy palatable to the thoughtless "children of a larger growth" as well as the others.

On our list of speakers was J. Stitt Wilson whose name is familiar to the Socialists.

Cloudesley Johns, journalist, author, revolutionist, who boasts of having had practical experience in sixty-seven lines of work, whose winning personality has his audience half-won before he has appealed to their reason in soft, persuasive tones.

Dorothy Jones, the beautiful and gifted wife of the former, who speaks from knowledge of conditions in Mexico gained from twelve years of residence in the dominion of Diaz, the despot, and whose lecture on "Sovereign Peons" created a deep impression on her audience and received very favorable comment from the local capitalist press.

And last but by no means least, Tom Lewis the Proletarian Agitator—"Good Little Tom," as his comrades call him—once a child-slave in the coal mines of Pennsylvania, then miner, and later an upholsterer by trade.

I was illuminatingly reminded of Whitman's "Dear Love of Comrades" by one of the most significant incidents of the Encampment when a roughly-garbed young cow-puncher threw an arm lovingly around Lewis' shoulders, saying: "Good Little Tom!"

Having a keen realization of the real condition and needs of the working class gained from actual experience as a member of that class, he has an indescribable but most effective faculty for forcing the points of his argument into the proletarian consciousness. The most striking characteristic of the man is his utter fearlessness. Some of the more timid comrades were somewhat dubious of the effect of Lewis' revolutionary utterances; but it is a deeply significant fact that of all that was uttered, his words were most eagerly received.

What impressed even the most casual observer at the Encampment was the Spirit of Comradeship that was so plainly manifested, the atmosphere of equality and freedom from conventionality that prevailed. There was utter absence of



Encampment Band.

inharmonious and discord, a striking illustration of the familiar quotation: "Where all govern nobody serves; where all serve nobody governs."

Here the lion and the lamb lay down together, that is, Impossibleist and Opportunist, and swapped ginger and oil to their mutual advantage. Of especial significance was the contribution of Oregon comrades to carry on the campaign in California.

The suggestion was made by one of

the women members present that the organization adopt the suggestive motto: "Watch my Smoke!" but as it was received by most of the male members with the stony stare of disapproval—especially those from up Portland way—the woman member with feminine tact refrained from pressing the matter.

In the opinion of your correspondent the Encampment Idea is fraught with stupendous possibilities for educational work.



Example Book Talks

By

ARTHUR M. LEWIS



WE ARE by this time agreed that the sale of the proper books at lecture meetings is greatly to be desired. In this article we shall consider the chief instrument by which this is attained—the book talk.

We might treat this theme by laying down general rules as to the elements which enter into the make up of a successful book talk, but while this is necessary it is not enough,—so many speakers seem to find it very difficult to apply rules. This part of the question will be treated in a few sentences.

A book-talk, to be successful, must answer the following questions:

- (1) Who wrote the book? It is not, of course, simply a question as to the author's name, but his position and his competence to write on the subject, etc.
- (2) What object had the author in view?
- (3) What is the main thesis of the book?
- (4) Why is it necessary that the hearer should read the book?

Above all a book talk should be interesting. How often have we seen a speaker begin a book talk at a meeting by destroying all interest and making sales almost impossible! The speaker holds up a book in view of the audience and says: "Here is a book I want you to buy and read." That settles it. The public has been taught to regard all efforts to sell things as attacks upon their pocket books and the speaker who begins by announcing his intention to sell, at once makes himself an object of suspicion. In the commercial world

it is held and admitted that a seller is seeking his own benefit and the advantages to the buyer are only incidental. In our case this is largely reversed but that does not justify the speaker in rousing all the prejudices lying dormant in the hearer's mind.

A good book talk thoroughly captures the interest of the audience before they know the book is on hand and is going to be offered for sale. About the middle of the talk the listener should be wondering if you are going to tell where the book can be obtained and getting ready to take down the publisher's address when you give it.

His interest increases and toward the close he learns to his great delight that you have anticipated his desires and he can take the volume with him when he leaves the meeting.

This is a good method but where one is to make many book talks to much the same audience there are a great many ways in which it can be varied.

I will now submit a book talk which has enabled me to sell thousands of copies of the book it deals with. This is a ten cent book and this price is high enough for the speaker's experiments. The speaker will later find it surprisingly easy, when he has mastered the art, to sell fifty cent and dollar books.

The speaker may use the substance of this talk in his own language, or, commit it to memory and reproduce it verbatim. Anyone who finds the memorizing beyond his powers should abandon public speaking and devote his energies to something easy.

BOOK TALK No. I.

Engels' Socialism, Utopian and Scientific.

For some time previous to the year 1875 the German Socialist party had been divided into two camps—the Eisenachers and the Lassallians. About that time they closed their ranks and presented to the common enemy a united front. So great was their increase of strength from that union that they were determined never to divide again. They would preserve their newly won unity at all costs.

No sooner was this decision made than it seemed as if it was destined to be overthrown. Prof. Eugene Dühring, Privat Docent of Berlin University, loudly proclaimed himself a convert to Socialism. When this great figure from the bourgeois intellectual world stepped boldly and somewhat noisily into the arena, there was not wanting a considerable group of young and uninitiated members in the party who flocked to his standard and found in him a new oracle.

This would have been well enough if Dühring had been content to take Socialism as he found it or if he had been well enough informed to make an intelligent criticism of it and reveal any mistakes in its positions. But he was neither the one or the other. He undertook, without the slightest qualification for the task, to overthrow Marx and establish a new Socialism which should be free from the lamentable blunders of the Marxian school.

Marx was a mere bungler and the whole matter must be set right without delay. This was rather a large task but the Professor went at it in a large way. He did it in the approved German manner. Germany would be forever disgraced if any philosopher took up a new position about anything without going back to the first beginnings of the orderly universe in nebulous matter, and showing that from that time on to the discovery of the latest design in tin kettles everything that happened simply went to prove his new theory.

Dühring presented a long suffering world with three volumes that were at least large enough to fill the supposed aching void. These were: "A Course of Philosophy," "A Course of Political and Social Science" and "A Critical History of Political Economy and Socialism."

These large volumes gave Dühring quite a standing among ill-informed Socialists, who took long words for learning, and obscurity for profundity. His followers became so numerous that a new division of the ranks threatened and it became clear that Dühring's large literary output must be answered.

There was a man in the Socialist movement at that time who was pre-eminently fitted for that task, who for over thirty years had proven himself a master of discussion and an accomplished scholar—Frederick Engels.

Engels' friends urged him to rid the movement of this new intellectual incubus. Engels

pleaded he was already over busy with those tasks, which show him to have been so patient and prolific a worker. Finally, realizing the importance of the case, he yielded.

Dühring had wandered all over the universe to establish his philosophy, and in his reply Engels would have to follow him. So far from this deterring Engels, it was just this which made his task attractive. He says in his preface of 1892:

"I had to treat of all and every possible subject, from the concepts of time and space to Bimetallism; from the eternity of matter and motion to the perishable nature of moral ideas; from Darwin's natural selection to the education of youth in a future society. Anyhow, the systematic comprehensiveness of my opponent gave me the opportunity of developing, in opposition to him, and in a more connected form than had previously been done, the views held by Marx and myself of this great variety of subjects. And that was the principal reason which made me undertake this otherwise ungrateful task."

Dealing with the same point, in his biographical essay on Engels, Kautsky says:

"Dühring was a many-sided man. He wrote on Mathematics and Mechanics, as well as on Philosophy and Political Economy, Jurisprudence, Ancient History, etc. Into all these spheres he was followed by Engels, who was as many-sided as Dühring but in another way. Engels' many sidedness was united with a fundamental thoroughness which in these days of specialization is only found in a few cases and was rare even at that time. * * * It is to the superficial many-sidedness of Dühring that we owe the fact, that the 'Anti-Dühring' became a book which treated the whole of modern science from the Marx-Engels materialistic point of view. Next to 'Capital' the 'Anti-Dühring' has become the fundamental work of modern Socialism."

Engels' reply was published in the Leipzig "Vorwärts," in a series of articles beginning early in 1877, and afterwards in a volume entitled, "Mr. Dühring's Revolution in Science." This book came to be known by its universal and popular title: "Anti-Dühring."

After the appearance of this book Dühring's influence disappeared. Instead of a great leader in Socialism, Dühring found himself regarded as a museum curiosity, so much so that Kautsky, writing in 1887, said:

"The occasion for the 'Anti-Dühring' has been long forgotten. Not only is Dühring a thing of the past for the Social Democracy, but the whole throng of academic and platonic Socialists have been frightened away by the anti-Socialist legislation, which at least had the one good effect to show where the reliable supports of our movement are to be found."

Out of Anti-Dühring came the most important Socialist pamphlet ever published, unless, perhaps, we should except "The Communist Manifesto," though even this is by no means certain. In 1892 Engels related the story of its birth:

"At the request of my friend, Paul Lafargue, now representative of Lille in the French

Chamber of Deputies, I arranged three chapters of this book as a pamphlet, which he translated and published in 1880, under the title: "Socialism, Utopian and Scientific." From this French text a Polish and a Spanish edition was prepared. In 1883, our German friends brought out the pamphlet in the original language. Italian, Russian, Danish, Dutch, and Roumanian translations, based upon the German text, have since been published. Thus, with the present English edition, this little book circulates in ten languages. I am not aware that any other Socialist work, not even our "Communist Manifesto" of 1848 or Marx's "Capital," has been so often translated. In Germany it has had four editions of about 20,000 copies in all."

The man who has the good fortune to become familiar with the contents of this pamphlet in early life will never, in after life, be able to estimate its full value as a factor in his intellectual development. I have persuaded many people to buy it and have invariably

given them this advice: "Keep it in your coat pocket by day and under your pillow by night, and read it again and again until you know it almost by heart."

At this point you may hold up the pamphlet and announce its price. If this is done before the lecture have the ushers pass the audience each with a good supply and beginning at the front row and working rapidly so as not to unnecessarily delay the meeting. If the sale is at the close of the meeting announce that copies may be had while leaving and have your ushers in the rear so as to meet the audience. A good deal depends on having live and capable ushers. Our big sales at the Garrick are due to ushers being past masters of their art.

The Effect of Economic Development Upon The American Home

By

LULU SOURS



THIS is an accepted fact that the home is the outcome of economic conditions and that it is the result of ages of evolution. The first home of man when compared with a modern home reveals few points in common. The world has changed, conditions have changed, the ideals of humanity have changed, so it is not surprising that we hesitate to call the natural shelter of prehistoric man "home."

The home life of this age is like that of every age, a reflex of the economic conditions, and the national life is what the home has made it. This is an interesting circle which economic investigations have disclosed, and a struggle marks the endless movement. The life of man is a history of his struggles. In the earliest days it was

with other animals. By improved weapons he overcame them; because of his superior strength he enslaved woman, but his struggle with his environment and his fellow beings continues to the present day.

If space permitted it would be interesting to follow man through all the ages, and note his development in various parts of the world. Conditions in this country have points in common with foreign nations, but there are special problems that concern each, and this article must be limited to the effects of the economic development upon the home in this country since the sixteenth century.

The discovery of America and a route to India near the close of the Middle Ages, revolutionized the whole social system. Many Europeans fled to the new World to escape various forms of persecution. They came well equipped for the tasks before them, with habits of worship, with ideas as

to liberty and with a certain amount of knowledge of legal procedure. These early colonists were from the middle class of the mother countries and they represented the best element of the age. There were farmers, carpenters, masons, millers, wheel-rights and blacksmiths among the men, while the women could spin, weave, sew, cook and manage a house and family without a maid or servant. In the northern colonies each home became a busy industrial center where everything that was needed for the family was produced, but in the south conditions were modified by the aristocrat cavaliers who came from England during Cromwell's rule.

While many changes have taken place in the national life of this country since the colonial period the changes in the mode of living have been no less remarkable. The simple life of the early days has given way to the complex conditions of the present time. The dwelling place of the past, whether a one room log structure or a big frame or stone house, lacked all modern conveniences. In each there was an open fire place with irons and tongs and a blazing back-log above which hung the crane with its hooks for pots and kettles. On the hearth was a long legged frying pan called the spider and the reflector in which the baking was done. On the mantle the brass candlesticks attracted most attention and the wall near by was decorated with candle molds, snuffers and strings of peppers and drying apples, above the door on wooden hooks the ever necessary gun was placed. Floors were bare or sanded, and the most conspicuous pieces of furniture were the spinning wheel, the reel and the loom. A work basket filled with balls of yarn and long knitting-needles was always to be found in these frontier homes, in which the skill and handicraft of the housewife furnished so much in the way of providing for the wants and necessities of the household.

Today the situation is greatly changed. We have our modern house with steam heated rooms and with gas, electric and water equipments. The modern home is incomplete without a telephone, hard wood floors, rugs, artistic draperies, mission furniture, good pictures and musical instruments. No one spins or weaves in this

home. Knitting by hand is a lost art and most of the household sewing is done on a machine or is sent out to a sewing woman. Much ready to wear clothing is bought because it is least expensive. There is little thought as to the cost to the poor women who produce these garments in sweatshops or miserable rooms that are called homes.

As to our food and the manner of preparing it, the contrast is no less striking. In cities and towns, wagons call every morning and leave bread and pastry for the day. The meat-man and the grocery-boy follow with their products almost ready for the table. All sorts of fruit, meats and vegetables are put up in cans and packages in factories, so the canning season and the meat curing work have been removed from the home. In this state (Cal.) a "Jap" comes in and serves the meals, washes the dishes and works elsewhere until the next meal time, while in the southern states a negro woman does the work for the scraps from the table. The laundryman takes the soiled clothes and linen from the well-to-do homes, so the old fashioned tub and board are almost relics of the past, while even the patent washing machines have been pushed out of sight. There is no special house cleaning season, but on almost any day you may see a man with an electric or gas machine in front of a house cleaning the rugs and carpets. It is the work of an hour to put a large house in better order than could have been done in several days by the old-fashioned methods.

Changes in the rural home life, in many parts of this country, are as great as in the towns and cities. In up-to-date communities there is a telephone in almost every farm house; a wind or gas pump furnishes water for the house and stock yards; mail is delivered daily by one of Uncle Sam's rural-delivery men; a wagon gathers the milk of the neighborhood in large cans and conveys it to a creamery; so the housewife is saved the burden of washing, jars, pans, buckets and churns, and of doing many of the tasks which of old made her life such a miserable existence of "work never done." Instead of an ox team drawing a plow in the field, you may see a traction engine with several plows attached which turn many acres of soil during the day. Instead of the cradle there is a self binding reaper

which may have a threshing machine combined with it. Everything is being done at great speed and in a manner that requires more elaborate equipment than was necessary a few years ago.

There are many other regards in which the evolution of industry, the changing methods of production and distribution, in short capitalism, has affected the home. For instance we may note that the development of the factory system has caused the breaking up of the old lines which previously existed in trade circles and that there are few skilled workmen in the ordinary manufacturing establishment. Instead of one man making a shoe it now requires sixty. Skilled wagon and furniture makers are almost unknown, because machinery does most of the work, and a woman or child can manipulate the machine as well as a man, and since the expense is less, the man of the home is often out of work while his wife and children are employed in the factory.

Knowledge as to methods of managing the machine is not handed down from father to son or from the master to apprentice because the present system makes this unnecessary. There are positions however which do demand skill and training. How to prepare the present generation of young people and the coming generations to meet the demands of this new industrial age is a grave problem. The home cannot solve it so a solution is a demand from the school. Colonial schools were established to prepare preachers of the gospel and lawyers. There was then no need of the manual training and trade schools that are in such great demand now, because the crafts were taught to young men by the methods of the apprentice system. Within the last ten years many industrial schools have been established; but the demand is not satisfied, nor is there yet proof as to what the results will be. Some of these schools are for girls as well as boys and several have been established for girls alone, which proves that the demand for women in the shops and factories is increasing, and this means greater change in the home.

President Jordan in his lecture, "The Blood of the Nation," has emphasized the terrible effect of war upon the homes of all nations. No other cause has produced more serious results in the home life of this coun-

try than did our Civil War. The removal of the father, husband and brothers from hundreds of homes necessitated many women, who had been home-keepers, become bread winners. Social changes after the war, enlarged the sphere of woman's activities and new occupations were opened to her. From that time until the present she has been seeking and securing positions in almost every line of industry. It is interesting to note that the last census report lists five million women working in the United States in gainful occupations. This is one sixth of all the workers in this country at that time. There are now according to reliable statistics over six million women thus employed in this country and in California there are eighty-one thousand five hundred females over sixteen years of age, working in forty-nine industries.

Like conditions exist in other states. What will be the result of this is a question that can not be answered now. Various interpretations have been suggested as to this phase of the nation's life. One thing at least seems clear. It is that women's economic dependence is rapidly vanishing. The common consciousness of humanity, the sense of social need and social duty has awakened. The progress of social organization has produced a corresponding degree of individualization which has at last reached women. The woman's movement rests not alone on her larger personality, with its tingling sense of revolt against injustice, but on the wide sympathy for one another.

In the present stage of evolution it is undesirable that women endure the condition of economic dependence, so they are leaving it. The change is evident everywhere in women as to characteristics, desires and objects of life. False sentimentality and false modesty are disappearing. Women are braver, stronger, more helpful, more skillful and more human in all ways than were their grandmothers.

The changes in educational advantages offered women is evidence that the need of a better developed womanhood is felt by men of the highest type. There are no longer comments as to "the female mind" by men of recognized ability. Biologists have long known that the brain is not an organ of sex, and educators throughout this country are recognizing woman's rights to develop her

faculties. It is not surprising that her progress in the arts, sciences, trades and professions is inferior to that of men when her history throughout the ages is recalled.

This great forward movement for women has developed within the last twenty-five years. She has been led by natural conditions into fields of economic activity. All women do not welcome the changed conditions. Many work because they must, just as do the majority of men. It is true too that women often marry only that they may be supported. It is also true that men often marry for money, for which unreasonable incident there can be no economic explanation similar to that in woman's case.

Women of comfortable homes, having been relieved of many duties by recent economic improvements turn to the club and devote their leisure time in efforts to improve their own minds or in helping to improve the condition of others. "The woman's club" to some men stands for a great joke, by others the work is recognized as worth while. That club work is today playing a great part in the lives of women as it has for years in the lives of men is clearly recognized, and that the result upon the home and upon the history of the world is worth noting is evident. Social life is conditioned upon organization. The club movement is the first step of women in this line, and it is one of the most important sociological phenomena of the century. Fruit from its field of action has been harvested in many states in the form of child-labor laws, educational reform measures and the anti-saloon agitation. Much local good has been done in the towns and cities of the United States, while in the rural districts clubs among the women are not uncommon.

The creative impulse, the desire to work, is a distinguishing characteristic of woman. It is not a result of her planning that she has been relieved of many household duties, nor has she man to thank for it since he has made the arrangements without consulting her and he has done it because of his own selfish interests. He saw in the new methods and devices an opportunity to make profits, so he made the changes without a

thought as to the effect upon the home or the home keeper. The changes noted are here to stay. Whether we like the conditions or not is of no consequence.

The so-called "new woman movement" has been pointed to as an evidence that the home is doomed. An idea as absurd as is the suggestion that there is a "new woman." There is no need for alarm as to the safety of the home so far as woman's part is concerned. The deepest forces of nature have tended since the earliest civilization to evolve pure lasting monogamous marriage. The home has not passed its day of usefulness, nor will its work be ended while civilization lasts.

There is ground for objection to rearing children in homes of poverty where sufficient nourishment and personal care can not be provided is certain. For such conditions the state should be held responsible, but that does not make it the duty of the state to take the children from the natural home and bring them up after her fashion. The state should help to improve home conditions in many cases. Ignorance is one great cause of distress in this country, so rational reform laws along educational lines will go far toward solving several grave problems of home life.

Because of short comings in some homes, it does not follow that the institution of the family is not yet the best place to bring up the children of this and every country. It is true that they may be made to grow without the mother love for which the state has no substitute, just as plants may be made to grow without sunshine, but neither child nor plant will ever develop as well as under normal conditions. Destroy the natural function of the home, and the motive power for further economic development will be undone. Children supply the motive power to the parents and the parents supply the necessary things, physical, mental and moral, for the life of the children.

Reform work must be in the interest of the home. This is the great field which is open to all organizations and individuals that have a real interest in humanity and the nation.

EDITORIAL

The Work of the Working Class. If there is one proposition upon which all Socialists, the world over, are practically unanimous, it is Marx's oft-quoted declaration, that the emancipation of the working class must be the work of the working class itself. In view of this we think it somewhat unfortunate that Comrade Seidel, mayor of Milwaukee, should have been reported as saying in a recent speech:

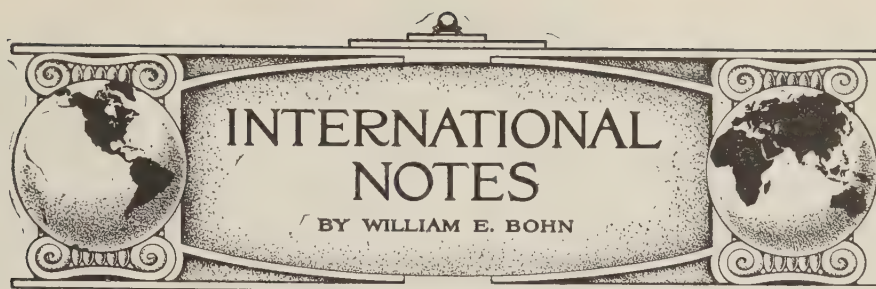
"It isn't essential that the workers be instructed in Socialism. It doesn't make any difference whether the workers understand Socialism or not."

We sincerely trust that the comrade was misquoted or that he used the language hastily and would gladly withdraw it. But however that may be, the statement should not pass without contradiction. Either the Socialist Party is the party of the workers, or it has no reason for existence whatever. And if it is to be the party of the workers, then its first duty is to educate the workers into an understanding of Socialism. For the control of the party is and must be in its membership as a whole. If for the sake of votes and offices we carry on a superficial propaganda of reforms and "immediate demands", it will not be long before the middleclass reformers are in full control and a new Socialist Party will be needed. Happily, the temper of the recent Congress of the Socialist Party at Chicago proves that the membership has no desire to stop its educational work and put its energy into chasing after votes.

We Need No Leaders. Let us keep on gradually building up a party composed of workers who know what Socialism is, and know that it is what they want. Such a membership will find "leaders" a needless luxury that can be cut off at any time when they try to modify the party's tactics to suit their own ends. Really it makes very little difference how many

Socialists are elected to office this year, or the year after. Capitalism has a few important things yet to accomplish in improving the machinery of production so that it may be operated collectively. This the present ruling class is effectively doing. The process is extremely painful to the little capitalists who are being crushed, but the process is in the line of evolution, and if we were to help the little capitalists to obstruct the process, in return for their votes, we would be delaying the revolution instead of hastening it.

The Main Issue. What the Socialist Party has to say to wage-workers is a very simple thing for them to understand, however puzzling it may be for others. The average American wage-worker produces each day goods that retail for \$10.00. He gets in wages a little less than \$2.00. Part of the other \$8.00 is wasted, and part of it goes to swell the fortunes of capitalists or to support them in luxury and idleness. Wage-workers are obliged to hand over most of what they produce because capitalists own the land, the machinery and the railroads. Socialists propose that the workers unite to take possession of these means of production, and that they then keep and enjoy the full value of what they produce. But the capitalists, who own the land and the tools, also own the government. They will not let go without a struggle. This struggle between the classes is beginning. It is not an abstract theory. It is a fact that any one with eyes can see. It is by far the biggest fact of modern times. The class struggle for the possession of the land and the tools is the ONLY issue that is of vital interest to wage-workers; it is the only issue that an intelligent workingman cares for. It is the issue that is bound to come to the front again and again, even if temporarily side-tracked. Let us put all our energy on this issue, and our growth will be solid and enduring.



Argentine. A Capitalist Reign of Terror. For months past vague reports of crimes committed against our comrades in Argentine have reached the outside world. At last we have definite information, and it verifies the worst fears excited by rumor. The government of Argentine must now be ranged alongside those of Russia and Mexico.

More than six months ago the Chief of Police of Buenos Aires was assassinated. Immediately the city was placed under martial law and a gang of police, soldiers and convicts, who had been freed for the purpose, entered the headquarters of labor organizations and destroyed all they could lay hands on. The office and press-rooms of "La Protesta," a labor paper, were completely demolished.

During the month of May these activities were renewed on a larger scale. On May 25, occurred the hundredth anniversary of the country's independence. A great exposition was to be held. Workmen engaged on the construction of the exposition buildings started a strike. The government feared the celebration of national freedom would be interfered with. On May 14, the old gang of hoodlums, this time supported by a body of students, was again called into action. I quote from a statement sent out by the national executive committee of the Socialist party: "These demonstrators made an unresisted attack upon, and destroyed, the whole of the furniture and machinery of "La Protesta." At 8 o'clock they set fire to the ruined building without interference from police or firemen. They destroyed and set fire to two libraries, and at 10 o'clock set fire to our paper, *La Vanguardia*.

"When the demonstrators arrived at the office of our paper after doing damage in the public streets, the police did

nothing to prevent the attack — on the contrary, assisting the assailants to carry out their work. The whole workshop, offices, machinery, library, typographic plant, etc., were destroyed by the mob, who used the swords of the soldiers for their work of destruction."

And so, to the music of the national hymn and midst cries of "Viva la Patria," the mob went on wrecking one newspaper plant after another, destroying the headquarters of some half dozen labor unions, destroying libraries, and in numerous other ways showing their appreciation of the "freedom" which had been won a hundred years before.

Needless to say our South American comrades are in great need of assistance. Their national congress is to meet and devise ways and means of meeting the crisis. But they need financial support, and that right soon. Funds for their relief are to be sent either to the International Bureau at Brussels or to Jose P. Balino, Calle Defensa, No. 888, Buenos Aires, Argentine.

Germany. A Taste of Victory. ...There are strange looking items afloat in the German papers. For year past, one great strike after another has been lost. Belgium, France, Sweden, Australia, each one has told us a tale of heroic effort and tragic defeat. To be sure temporary defeat is far from the worst fate which can overtake the working-class. An unsuccessful fight is often enough better than no fight at all. It teaches the need of class solidarity and points out the best methods of class organization. But for once it is good to read of a working-class victory on the economic field, to see the employers in full retreat, to see them cast the blame for humiliation upon one another.

All this is what we see in Germany at

the present moment. In one town after another the building trades employers have given in. The boycott has nearly everywhere been declared off. The striking employes have been granted slight increases in wages and the ten-hour day has been guaranteed. And, best of all, in the humiliation of defeat the employers have let out more than one secret which is of interest to the working class. The employers' association of Berlin, for example, has published an elaborate statement as to the causes which led up to the struggle. According to their account this great labor war was caused by a single group of employers who were bent from the first on causing a strike. They and all their works are now roundly denounced. For once it is the employers who have complaining and explaining to do.

The course of this great labor war is a striking vindication of revolutionary unionism. The German Gewerkschaften are, in certain respects, comparatively conservative. They work hard to build up solid organizations, they emphasize their mutual benefit features, they save up great sums of money against times of need. But more and more they have come to organize in the form which we in this country have come to call industrial. In this struggle which is now coming so happily to a close all the building trades of the empire were called out together. And the workers engaged in the manufacture of building materials stood ready to walk out at any moment. This is revolutionary unionism in something more than name. And it won.

Political Victories. Our German comrades are winning one by-election after another. Since the suffrage law was introduced they have gained six seats in the Reichstag, which brings their whole number up to forty-eight. On the average their gains have amounted to 33%. It is estimated by their enemies that this rate will be kept up and that consequently in the elections of next year the representation of the Social Democracy will be more than double. Good authorities place the number of Socialists in the next Reichstag as high as 120.

Australia. The Labor Party. "We are in complete control of the government. We have only to say, 'Thus shall it be,' and it is." It is the labor press of Australia which makes this triumphant declaration. Forty-four representatives of the Labor Party in the Federal House to thirty-one of the other parties; twenty-three Labor senators to thirteen of the other parties. This is the measure of the Labor Party's power and responsibility.

Two questions are of vital interest to the labor movement the world over: What will this Labor Party do for the working-class? and, What will be the attitude of the Socialists of Australia toward the government of the Labor Party?

The Federal Parliament does not meet until September 1, but the Socialist press has not hesitated to comment on the preliminary acts of the new government. The cabinet which is to be responsible for the administration of Federal affairs has been chosen by party caucus, a new and comparatively democratic way of choosing a ministry. Mr. Fisher has been named Prime Minister; but it is the choice of Mr. Hughes as Attorney-General which has occasioned most comment among Socialists and revolutionary unionists. Mr. Hughes was the conservative leader in the recent coal strike, the leader who opposed the general strike, who arranged the final compromise and who was not sent to jail with the other union leaders.

The complacent attitude of Mr. Hughes in regard to the imprisonment of the other strike leaders seems quite in harmony with the mild protests of the Labor Party against the outrage committed by the Fusion government. It is worth noting that while three of the imprisoned unionists have been released and four more are to be set free in August, Peter Bowling, Socialist and industrial unionist, is to serve a year more in jail.

The Socialist press has objected vigorously to the attitude of the Laborites at the time of King Edward's death. The new Prime Minister cabled his condolences to England and expressed publicly his grief at the loss of "our beloved sovereign." There went with all this,

naturally, an outburst of devotion to the Empire. Certain labor papers displayed their grief in black bordered sheets. What can Socialists have to say to a Labor Party which thus supports monarchy?

But there are those among Australian revolutionists who refuse to test the Labor Party by such straws as these. They judge it by its platform. Three demands stand out as the characteristic features of this platform: the demands for a land tax, for a new protection policy and amendments to the compulsory arbitration law. Premier Fisher states that the first act of the new government will be to pass a land act imposing a graduated tax on large estates. It is proposed to tax estates of more than £5,000 value at 1d. to the pound, increasing the rate for estates over £10,000. The object is to break up the large estates. The tariff is to be revised so as to cut down the cost of living. The compulsory arbitration act is to be so modified as to give the workers of securing redress in the courts.

In order to understand the attitude of the Socialists toward the Labor Party it is necessary to have some notion of the position of the Socialist Party as a factor in the political affairs of Australia. Owing to the expense of registering candidates the Socialist Party is unable to present a complete ticket in all districts. But the necessity of opposing the Labor candidates presents a more serious difficulty. After making a vigorous campaign in West Sidney Harry Holland, the militant editor of the *International Socialist*, was defeated twenty to one by the Labor Party candidate. The total Socialist vote fell off in the election which sent the Labor Party into Power. It seems that many workers voted for the Laborites thinking they were casting their ballots for Socialism. In fact *The Worker*, the Labor paper of Melbourne, declares (April 23): "Wherever the red flag floated we (the Labor Party) won." The Labor papers are not afraid to write Socialism in big letters across the pages nor to proclaim a belief in the co-operative ownership of the chief means of production. But, as *The Worker* declares, "this does not mean that we (the Labor Party) will have to achieve the co-opera-

tive commonwealth. The work of a Labor Party must be the creation of a socialistic environment. What we have to do is to proceed with the carrying out of the Labor platform."

What should be the attitude of Socialists towards this "Socialistic" party? The question is being earnestly discussed in the Socialist papers and will be one of the chief subjects for consideration in the approaching Socialist conference at Melbourne. Two views standing out in clean cut opposition are represented by *The Socialist*, of Melbourne, and the *International Socialist*, of Sidney.

The editor of *The Socialist* asks (June 3): "What then is the position of a Socialist party which officially indorses political action and at the same time is for all practical purposes impotent as regards Socialist candidates in the field?" His answer is: "Temporarily support Labor candidates..... Vote on every possible occasion..... It is wise to prefer the Labor Party before other non-Socialist parties. If Socialism is not the issue, is not Labor better than Fusion?" The adoption of this view of the matter would mean, of course, that the Socialist vote would become only a means of propaganda, not a political weapon. *The Socialist* insists, naturally, that the separate identity of the Socialist party be strictly maintained and its freedom as a critical and fighting opposition preserved.

Comrade Holland, the editor of *The International Socialist*, says (April 30): "That the middle class mind dominates in Australasia—both industrially and politically—is the lesson the result of the 1910 election teaches..... A party of the working-class would find its first work in the destruction of the Class State." Yet Premier Fisher says he will be satisfied if in three years the Labor Government succeeds in passing a land act, new immigration and tariff acts, and an amendment to the compulsory arbitration act. This, says Comrade Holland, is not revolution. To the Labor Party, as to the Fusion Party, the Socialists should form a fighting opposition.

Tom Mann has said that the Australian Labor Party is nothing more than a radical organization. To an outsider it

looks as though he were in the right. It is evident that this party is full of Socialists. The rank and file of it seem intelligent. The Labor papers are very advanced in their views. The trouble seems to be; too much leadership. There are at the head of the party a lot of politicians as clever as any in the world. The Labor Party can hardly expect to do anything worth while for the working-class before they have been sent to the rear. Until that time comes it is difficult to see how a Socialist can ally himself with the Laborites.

Austria. The Dangers of Nationalism. For the moment the labor movement of Austria seems to be caught in a current of reactionary forces. Hitherto the labor movement of this land of many races and tongues has been able to present a solid front. This has given it its chief advantage as against the Bourgeois parties. But the Czechs have finally formed a complete national labor organization of their own. They have separate local unions and a separate executive committee.

The crisis presented by this situation is being met by attempts at compromise. It is proposed to leave the two sets of local unions intact, but to organize them into a single national movement with a single executive committee to insure harmony of action. If this plan does not succeed it will mean a serious set-back for our Austrian comrades.

Work in England. Comrade Fred Shaw, of England, writes us that his health is failing and that he fears he will not be able to continue selling books of this company and taking Review subscriptions — and in pushing the work of propaganda and education which he has been carrying on so energetically the past few years. Comrade Shaw writes "the work will not stop if I drop out. The comrades here will carry it right on, so do not think their plans depend upon me." This is the spirit in which Comrade Shaw works, and we hope that next reports will bring the good news that his health is vastly improved, and that the English Fighting Squadrons will

long enjoy the help of his enthusiasm and his devotion to the Cause. Comrade Shaw believes that the best way to "DO SOMETHING" is to educate the working class in the principles of revolutionary socialism.



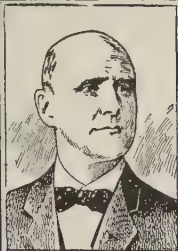
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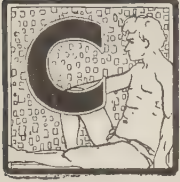
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THE WORLD OF LABOR

BY MAX S. HAYES.



CONSIDERABLE progress has been made lately in the matter of healing some of the wounds or closing the breaches between rival organizations and getting into shape to present a solid front to the common enemy. Thus the United Mine Workers and the Western Federation of Miners have established complete harmony and are perfecting their federation. The two unions in the papermaking industry, whose family dissensions caused the loss of a strike several years ago, have combined and as a result gained some important concessions. The independent locals of longshoremen on the Pacific coast and also at the New York harbor, after being outside of the international union for some years, have reaffiliated with the parent body. The two national unions of railway car workers have amalgamated after five or six years of scrapping among themselves. The teamsters in New York are reported to have again made peace with the international union and joined the organization that has passed through some stormy periods. The two national unions of boilermakers were formally combined last month under the old brotherhood banner.

A state of war still exists in a number of trades, unfortunately. Nobody is reaping any benefit therefrom except the capitalists, and if the alleged leaders could forget their false pride or narrow selfishness for a time and made an earnest effort to get together for the benefit of those they pretend to serve, they would in point of fact be doing a good service to the entire labor movement. The machinists are split into at least four factions, viz., the International Association, the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, the Brotherhood and the I.W.W. The boot and shoe workers are at sword's points in a number of important industrial centers, while the building laborers have been fighting among themselves, but may

get together soon, which is also true as far as the tailors are concerned, the independents on the Pacific coast showing an inclination to join the international. The electrical workers' controversy has not yet been adjusted and it now looks as though this famous case will once more bob up in the next A. F. of L. convention. There has been some miserable politics played in this electrical workers' fight, and the longer it lasts the worse it will be for would-be-autocrats in the labor movement. In a nutshell, the Reid faction is willing to hold a joint convention or abide by the decision of the referendum to settle the points in dispute. The McNulty faction will do neither, and, although in the minority, holds the charter and apparently has the support of the A. F. of L. executive council.

The announcement that Carl Legien, president of the federated unions of Germany, and Carl Liebknecht, the well-known anti-militarist, both of whom are Socialist members of Parliament, are coming to America for a speaking tour of six to eight weeks, is creating great enthusiasm among the German-speaking workmen in the principal cities and the outlook is that there will be considerable clamoring for every hour of their time while on this side. While Liebknecht will confine most of his time to addressing Socialist meetings, Legien will go among the trade unions and it is quite likely that the latter's tour will be so timed that he can get into St. Louis while the A. F. of L. convention meets and address that body. Coming as they do from a conquering proletariat that is marching from one victory to another upon the industrial and political fields in the Fatherland, they will prove an immense inspiration to the fighting working class of this country.

The strikes of the seamen on the Great Lakes and the tinplate workers in the mills of the United States Steel Corporation have entered their second year and are proceeding along their wearisome course. There

is absolutely no sign of a settlement along the industrial horizon, not even on a compromise basis. The unions are determined to win and the trust claims it has won. The tinplate workers are now developing a plan to start a co-operative mill in this country or Canada and fight the trust in its own market. The seamen will carry their fight to the international conference of transport workers, which meets in Copenhagen, Denmark, this month, and endeavor to inaugurate a world campaign against the octopus. Meanwhile there is talk that the iron ore miners in the Northwest are organizing and preparing to give battle to the trust, having grievances of their own and a lot of sympathy for the transport and mill workers. At the same time the trust is preparing to build another "model" town, like Gary, Ind., in Alabama, which will be called "Corey," after Mabel Gillman's husband, the president of the combine. The enslaving movements of the steel trust are highly interesting.

During the past month the long threatened strike of the cloakmakers and workers on ladies' garments was called in New York, where 75,000 operatives walked out to enforce the demands that are truly revolutionary in that trade. The workers made a stand for (1) recognition of the union, (2) the eight-hour day (instead of working as high as eighteen hours), (3) one day's rest in seven, (4) abolition of sub-contracting and no work to be taken to homes (which means the wiping out of the sweating system), (5) increase of wages and double time for all overtime work, and (6) the abolition of foot power in running machines and no more charges against the workers for electricity. At this writing it looks as though there has been another long, hard fight inaugurated that may spread into Chicago, Cleveland and other Clothing centers. While many of the small bosses have given in, the large manufacturers have combined and announce that they will not yield and that it will be a fight to the finish. Experience shows that if these workers accept a compromise they stand to lose practically everything they demand.

As in the East, so out on the Pacific coast the class struggle is raging. For several

years the metal trades have been arranging to inaugurate the eight-hour day and gave notice to the employers to prepare for the readjustment. Several weeks ago the movement was started, but outside of the San Francisco district, where the demand was generally conceded, the men were forced to walk out and the bosses at once nailed up open shop signs and declared that in the future only non-union workers, "independents," would be employed. This struggle bids fair to continue for many months, as the union men are standing solid as a rock, while the capitalists are spending a barrel of money to import strike-breakers from the East.

As a sequel to this contest, the workers in the State of Washington and in Los Angeles, where the brewery workers also walked out, are making extensive preparations to carry the fight into the political field. Great mass-meetings have been held, and the references to the Labor and Socialist governments in San Francisco and Milwaukee have created unbounded enthusiasm and with the result that there will be something doing along the Western coast.

Still another damage suit has been filed under the Sherman anti-trust law. One Sitomer, a manufacturer of ladies' waists in New York, wants \$150,000 to recompense him for the damage done to his business by the shirt waist strikers last winter and to soothe his mind and wounded feelings. The foxy Sitomer, realizing that the officers and members of the Ladies' Garment Workers' Union haven't got much more than about thirty cents apiece, included in his list of defendants Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Inez Mulholland and other Society women who have money. Sitomer claims he was ruined by what Hon. Taft calls a "secondary boycott," in that he signed an agreement, but that the rebellious workers refused to put their noses to the grindstone because he persisted in furnishing material to scab concerns. The case will be watched with more than ordinary interest because the society women will learn where they step off.

In this connection it might be stated that the Hon. Taft canceled all engagements and worked overtime to knock out a provision voted into the appropriation bill by

Congress that none of the \$100,000 voted to prosecute trusts should be used in persecuting labor organizations. By bringing tremendous political pressure to bear Taft won by a small majority, and now the unions must have a care how they proceed.

There is at least one place in the United States where the national agitators of the open shop made a stand by holding a public mass meeting and coming out in the limelight to look the people in the face while discussing the alleged principles for which they stand and the advisability of putting organized labor out of business. This extraordinary occurrence was witnessed recently by the good people of Hartford, Conn., where James A. Emery, of the

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National Citizens' Alliance, and Walter Drew, of the New York Employers' Association, held forth before a large audience, the majority of the people being doubtless attracted by the announcement that the meeting would be thrown open to persons desiring to ask questions. The speeches were of the usual sing-song, apologetic brand and were liberally interspersed with interruptions, so much so that the gents on the platform forgot their lines and attempted to get funny with personal allusions. Then when the orators got through and the people settled back to hear brief sentences of hot shot from the laborites and enjoy a real intellectual treat, the band began to play, the speakers disappeared and the audience was adjourned. Comment unnecessary.

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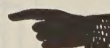
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